

THE AUTO-TRANSIENT FAMILY

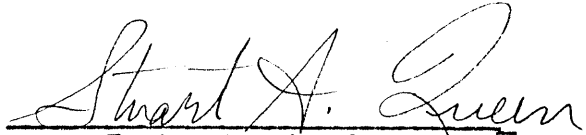
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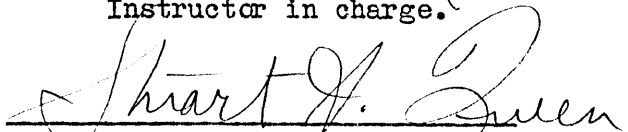
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PREFACE

We, in the west, who are new in the field of sociology frequently think of social pathology solely in terms of a highly industrialized, urban east, and overlook social phenomena near at hand, equally characteristic of our own region. Four years ago a project was started by Miss McFarland of the Kansas City Provident Association which did attempt to explore a type of behavior apparently characteristic of this area of the United States. Her special study was of the migratory family transient by auto.

The work started by her under the direction of the Kansas University Department of Sociology opened contacts with many of the family case-work organizations in the section west of the Mississippi River. From these and from division headquarters of the Red Cross she secured approximately fifty case-records. These were summarized by her for such information as size of family and ages, length of time on the road, places visited, their purpose as told the agency, the plan followed by the agency, and the life history. The death of Miss McFarland prevented the completion of the project.

The study was reopened this year through the courtesy of the Kansas City Provident Association and of Miss McFarland's parents, who gave permission for the use of her records.

Letters of inquiry and questionnaires were sent out in the Provident's name to all family welfare societies west of the Mississippi, listed in the directory of the American Association for Organizing Farm Social Work, and to a few other selected agencies. Still others were sent to Traveler's Aid Societies in the area, where the questionnaire indicated that such other agencies were in the city, as the department of public welfare or Salvation Army.

Other sources of information have been tentatively opened but not carried through for lack of time. A survey soon to be started under the Missouri Conference for Social Work will reach into Chambers of Commerce and sources additional to family case-work organizations. An inquiry by the National Tuberculosis Association may bring in information on migratory cases of T. B.

The use of questionnaires was an attempt to get statistical information concerning number of cases of transiency handled as compared with total case-work load, a picture of the policy of investigation and treatment followed the worker's impressions of the nature of the problem confronted. The last item dealt

with the means of "getting by", extent of families having secured agency aid previous to transiency, and the main problems most frequently presented. It also provided a check to discover, if there were any pronounced relation between the size of the problem and the free auto camp; the city's location on or off a through-highway and so forth. The study of this section of the problem could claim little statistical accuracy because of the differences in agency practice, in classification, and in the inadequacy of statistics which had been recorded. It did have considerable practical value in testing the observer's impressions of the problem by the judgments of case-workers who had handled dozens of cases.

A second part of the study was still more important from the angle of research. Its basis was in records studied at family welfare societies in Topeka, Kansas City and Wichita, as well as the records secured by Miss McFarland. All records were analyzed as far as possible for sequence of events preceding transiency, present habits and attitudes as inferred from recurrent behavior, and for problems presented the agency by the family. One hundred cases were so analyzed. From the sequences of events some objective basis was given for an analysis of the processes involved in the transiency. Some forty cases supplied data of this type, although not always complete.

In a reanalysis and summary of these cases on cards for classification inferences were drawn, wherever possible, concerning the character of the family's transiency (temporary, intermittent or continual); degree of dependency (temporary, intermittent, or chronic and whether parasitic or not); the truth or falsity of the story where the story had been tested by inquiry; the purposes which seemed dominant in the transiency; the type of labor before transiency (whether country or city); major problems presented (physical, mental and educational, economic, and habits and behavior in social aspects); the processes leading toward transiency (where observable); and finally, a characterization of the problem, (a) by process and (b) by type of life organization or disorganization. With few exceptions, statistical summaries of these inferences have been frankly omitted since they would give an impression of accuracy unwarranted because of the inadequacies of the records. However, they did aid in testing the general impressions of the observer. Summaries were taken for comparison from any other available sources.

Following this inferential analysis, like ^{cases} were grouped into type processes as far as possible and these were drawn together into a generalized process with variants. This induction approach replaced an earlier attempt at a theoretical statement by diagram of alternative sequences.

In a third part of the study, important though of brief time duration, the observer attempted to test the validity of impressions gained from agency records of transiency by actual contacts with migratory families in their own habitat. The visit of three days and two nights to Squattertown, Wichita (described in the first chapter) while brief, was illuminating for the attitudes of the transient, the relationships within his own group, and his manner of living. Supplementary life histories were also secured-from wives and children primarily. Subsequent observation of this type is necessary to test generalizations and hypotheses submitted in this thesis, and may change them as radically as it has been necessary to change the theories and hypotheses proposed at different stages of the study. Pending this and further study of case histories statements and conclusions are submitted only as tentative.

THE AUTO TRANSIENT FAMILY

CHAPTER I.

And so it's move the camp again
To a newer, better place --
And then we'll move it on again,
For that's always been the case.

If on fair Jordan's shore
Our camp we'd chance to set,
The country's ways would make us sore
And we'd move again! You bet!¹

We would seem to be building in America a new order of society which might be thought of as aligned into classes distinguished by varying rates of mobility and consistency of movement.

There is the rural group which, until recently, has been land-tied and land-satisfied. The small-city dweller might be ranked next, and beyond him a still more mobile group, the urban dweller.

Within the urban area the group with the highest rate of movement is the rooming-house type and the hotel population, with the apartment house dweller not far behind.

1. Copied from an entry in the notebook of Mrs. F. H. (Record B-37-Sq), penned on the eve of a move into the Imperial Valley, California. The family, once migratory for a number of years are now stabilized, with residence in the section described in a document later in the chapter as "Squattertown". It is her husband, who has been assigned the title of "mayor of Squattertown".

Still beyond these in degree of mobility are the transient groups, such as the hoboes, tramps, gypsies and other nomadic types where mobility of person has been increased and mobility of residence added.

Among the migratory folk, the period since the World War has seen the development of a new social type -- the "auto-transient family". This class, homeless, highly mobile, frequently dependent on community aid for continued transiency, has reached popular attention through such names as: "fliver hobo", "fliver bum," "fliver Magellans", "peripatetics on wheels", "gasoline gypsies", "automobile migrants", "tramps on rubber" and other equally graphic nomenclature.

A description of the types on the road, according to the popular view would emphasize various, surface aspects of the problem. Apparently, among the road types is found the Job-Hunter, who is trying to locate work. Contrasted with him is the Job-Evader or Mendicant, striving with equal zeal to avoid work. The Health-Seeker has as his goal some climate which will free the family of its ailments. From the effort exerted by some for popular attention, we might term a different type -- the Publicity-Seeker. Others are eternally dissatisfied, always hoping for a little better place -- a Rainbow-Chaser class. Still another sort might be loosely characterized as the Mobile-Dependent since transience merely means for them a con-

tinuation of dependency-attitudes set up before the family left their home locality. A large number of the group, outsiders would describe as Tourist-Minded households, traveling without enough savings to keep them going, or a home to which they can return. A few more cautious observers may wonder if there is not also a Repressed Worker type, the family trying to escape the monotonies and repressions of its job environment. A final group, apparently small in number, are the Fugitives who are fleeing the law or an indignant installment collector.

The popular view of transiency emphasizes the purposes which seem to impell movement. A description such as the above indicates possible, dominant economic and social wants, supplying the motive for movement as: subsistence, position with improved status, health, new experience and excitement, curiosity, response, and the negative motive of escape. The latter is an expelling drive from a locality-situation. A more adequate view of causation will be discussed in the following chapter.

Here we shall present, without comment, as illustrative material, a typical case. Following the case narration, we shall discuss some of the general aspects of the problem in range and distribution, the environment of the highway, the

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1. The following personal MSS was written following a short period living in a center of migratory families. The family, as far as it is known, never asked for relief, but are supported by their own labor.

means of support and the lacks and hazards of their mobile life. In the second chapter a more scientific classification will be proposed by types of movement, by degrees of dependency, and finally by type processes and resultant schemes of life organization or disorganization. The description follows:

A man, wife, two children of about seven and nine years of age, and a friend, traveling without his wife, drove into Squattertown, a colony of transient families located on the outskirts of a mid-western city. The two men, dusty and unshaven, piled out of the car and walked over to the shack of D_____ who was eating supper, prepared by George, a tramp chef.

"Any tops for rent?"

"Surah?"

"Dollar a week?"

"Yeah."

In a few moments the car, an old Studebaker, open model, was emptied of its cargo. Several much-bescratched suitcases at one side of the car beside a large bundle of bedding. The woman, an attractive-appearing person of about thirty-five, carried into the "top" a small portable Victrola. The youngster then through out his most prized property, a tame rabbit crouched in a box punched full of holes.

Ten minutes after arrival the boy was in a game of marbles; and ten minutes later he had gotten into a disagreement with the boy living in the next top. One well directed blow to the jaw of the other youngster demonstrated that he was not easily intimidated. Before the other lad, fuming with anger, could pick up a wagon single-tree laying near, his scolding mother had chased him over the fence.

"Don't you know we folks has got to live together? The old mann will surely thrash you when he comes."

The family just arriving at Squattertown had been intermittently migratory for a number of years. They had driven, in all, nine cars at various times, trading frequently for another second-hand one. When hard luck came they would trade for a cheaper one or exchange car accessories or an extra tool for gas and food supplies.

The family were then returning to W_____ from Nebraska where the men had husked corn for several weeks. On their return to Kansas they went, first, to a city forty miles south of W_____, but were unable to pay the charge per night at the tourist camp. Now they were back to the place they had formerly lived.

Their present plan was to remain in the city for two or three months. The men were to pick up any work they might find and the two children were to reenter school immediately.

Jerry, the extra man, they had picked up a few weeks before. Jerry explained to D_____, the owner of the "tops" that he had three different wives since his last visit to Squattertown, a year before, and was still bewailing his enforced flight from his last wife, a sixteen year old Indian girl.

Means of Travel

Among the lower strata of tourisdom there are the "roaders", the auto-transient families of the type described above, and the hitchhiking family, naming them in the order of their historical appearance. "Roader" is the term which the family traveling by wagon apply to themselves. They are the present day successors of the prairie-schooner of pioneer days. The number running by auto probably outnumber these considerably. The car gypsies in the middle-west seem to feel more of a kinship to the families traveling by wagon and team, than to the tourists. Auto-vacationers think of them as a pariah class among travelers, while the "roaders" include them in their own group.

Another category of transients, an off shoot of auto-transiency is that of hitch-hiking family, or the family which starts out afoot but expects to be offered rides. These spurious hikers have gained the picturesque title of the "thumb tourists" from the gesture used in making for a lift.

A small number of families also move about by train, traveling on charity rate tickets supplied by small social-work agencies.

The Social Significance of the Auto

The migratory family is influenced by its mode of transportation. The car is significant, first, because of the mode of living it requires. Anyone who has traveled by auto on limited funds knows of the inconveniences and habits of living it requires. The auto is important, second, for the increased spatial compactness of the family which it insures over the life before going on the road. This influences the character of family interaction.

Again, it offers a ready means of evasion and quick transportation away from a city if the family wish to employ unconventional methods of securing aid. Thievery or mendicant behavior are seldom resorted to unless a speedy departure is possible. One old timer on the road, still traveling by wagon, was particularly vehement against the "white gypsies" who use their cars as aids toward petty robbery. Such acts have made it difficult for him and other covered wagon travelers to find camping sites. Farmers feared to have them locate near their farms. Parasitism is then made easier by car transportation.

The growth of transiency by family rather than by single person is largely due to the small initial cost for a used car and the low travel expense, no more for a whole family than for an individual. On the other hand there is a continual expense for gas and oil. Cases of breakdowns often occur,

and tires persist in wearing out. All these occasion the necessity for work or a demand for aid -- frequently the latter.

In addition, the ease of changing locations by car has tended to encourage frequent changes of jobs. The car has increased job-instability.

Life on the Road

Many questions arise concerning the life of the transient family. Such questions as these are raised: Under what conditions do they live? What is their means of support? What becomes of them during the winter? What is the nationality of the nomads? What is the nature of their relationships with other transients as the hobo and the gypsy? How are they different from other homeless persons? What is the nature of their relationships with settled folk? How does their novel type of existence register in the personality? How have they come to live a migratory life? Some of these questions we shall attempt to answer in the remainder of the chapter, reserving for a later chapter a treatment of factor sequences leading into nomadism.

It should be said in introduction that the group on the road is primarily native, white American. Only one colored family and four families of other national origins were included

in the cases. Furthermore, it is largely a group who have had only limited chance for education. Also the parents are largely, though not entirely, workers in occupations involving seasonal changes or in working as casual laborers.

The Environment of the High-Way

The roamer is exposed, not to a stable environment but to a panoramic succession of environments whose only basic common factor would seem, at first, to be diversity.

The environment of the nomadic family gives, certainly, kaleidoscopic impressions of many new places and situations through which the individual passes. On the social side it includes the relationships which they maintain with other migratory families and those with the people more locality-stable. There is also the job environment, whether that "job" be conceived of as casual labor or as of "working" the agencies and "benevolent individuals" whose sympathies they can enlist.

The Tourist-Camp Environment

With the conventional tourist the transient folk have been assigned, rightly or wrongly, a pariah status. Their homelessness, the ancient and travel-scarred appearance of the car and camping equipment, the frequently untidy appearance of

the children, and the disregard of parents for appearances tend to isolate them from those in society temporarily as mobile as themselves. Present travelers are becoming socially stratified in different levels, with the homeless family assigned to the lowest. Tourists of today do not cross social barriers common in locality groupings which were formerly abandoned for a kinship of the road.

Furthermore, their limited finances force them away from the more expensive tourist camps and even from the better municipal camps whose moderate fees stretch the family purse strings. The family is forced either into the small, municipal free camp, the private free camp (as those maintained by small town garages), the "fly-by-night" auto-camp, or is forced to find camping sites along the road.

This results not infrequently, in the enforced association of the self-respecting, though nearly-penniless family seeking work with "tramp families" and parasitic groups.

If the family does go into the pay camps it is shunned. Tourists carefully place their extra tools in the car, investigate the lock on their spare tire, and sleep with half an eye open lest his camp neighbor's youngsters appropriate his supplies. From past experience they have found reason to fear lest tools may stray away by morning, or half the gas in the tank be siphoned out.

Camp managers complain that the nomadic brood leave their quarters dirty, sometimes insect-ridden, and try to overstay the time-limit of the camp. Families have been known to evade the time-limits by shifting from camp to camp in the city, just staying to the time limit and returning later.

The "fly-by-night" auto-camps which have sprung up by the hundreds along main highways both reflect and create the problem. They at least constitute a part of the high-way environment. In them is a health problem both to the "legitimate" if financially-limited tourist and to the city. The infection source for three separate epidemics in Wichita, Kansas have been traced to one camp on the outskirts of the city. Located beyond the jurisdiction of the city health service's sanitary inspection they can set their own standards almost as they wish.

Living Conditions

If the migratory family goes into the fly-by-night auto camps he will have for rent some flimsily constructed one-room hut in which few if any sanitary measures have been made use of since the previous occupancy. These cabins, while attractive when first constructed, rapidly deteriorate. Inadequate sanitary facilities are of common occurrence in the cheaper camps on free quarters, the toilet and bathing facilities often dirty and semi-public.

The free auto-camps of the small towns are little better with their ill-kept outside latrines, and the littered yard barren of grass. But municipal authorities complain that it is no use keeping camps clean or well-serviced when transient families or tourists leave their camping sites and latrines in the condition which they do. And so the vicious circle continues.

The type of living quarters and the environment necessarily attendant to life on the road make it easy to lapse into carelessness about appearance, if not into unhygienic habits of filth.

The lack of necessity for cleanliness for the sake of status in a continually contacting social group is still more important in explaining the transient's frequently slovenly appearance.

In one family asking aid from the Kansas City Provident Association, the man of the group had very disheveled dress and general appearance. The rest of the family were neat and clean. But an hour after the Provident sent him word that they were to be returned by train to his home city in the southern mountains, the week's growth of beard had disappeared, and his last small change, much needed for food, had gone into a new shirt and second-hand but clean trousers. He was "goin' home" to people who knew him.

Whatever the cause it is safe to say that two-thirds of the families contacting agencies for aid have standards of living uniformly low from a hygienic standard. But the same statement would be nearly as true of the low-waged earners who do not move about.

Centers of Migratory Folk

But the transient family, not willing to camp by the roadside or to stay in a municipal or private auto-camp, may have another possibility. There are a few centers for migratory folk scattered through the middle west which can only be characterized as hybrid between the "jungle" of the hobo squatter settlements and the cottage camp of the tourist. They are localities where exists a free and easy camaraderie. Here the nomadic families has a feeling of being "home-folks". These congregates of squatter-campers may be located a few miles out from the city at a turn of the highway, or in a section marked off by railroad tracks. A tract in the city barren of houses or an area near the city trash piles provides still another place where these campers can "squat" temporarily as they travel through. These centers with the open sociability and friendliness constitute a social oasis of contact to the transient living ordinarily in a social Sahara of isolation. Unfortunately for his peace of mind these are subject, usually, to periodic cleanings-out by the policy or by the farmer on whose land they happen to be located.

A Colony of Migrants

Squattertown is a well-defined area near a rapidly expanding mid-western city, which now numbers about 100,000 in population. The locality is about a half hour's rapid walk by railroad track from the business area. The section, one bordering the river, is marked off by a division of the Santa Fe and Orient railroad tracks. The angle formed by the dividing tracks is bounded on the third side by a barren strip of sand, partially filled in with city trash. Across the river from the camp is a "jungle" of the hoboos.

The little colony of about four hundred people is made up, largely of squatters and migratory families. There is also a small in-between class of migrants, once "roaders" or "stiffs", who have forsworn the open roads or the blinds for a permanent location. Among the nomaders are the car-tramps and "roaders", some living in houses on wheels, some in rented shacks, and "tops"* and a few in tents badly weathered by use. Squattertown is the usual winter habitat for a number of the chronic nomads. Other migrants use the colony as temporary quarters.

Occupationally, the more permanent residents are made up of scavengers, trash collectors and "junkers", (men who make their living collecting or stealing junk for resale), teamsters, and casual laborers.

Squattertown, from the standpoint of housing must be termed a community of hovels. They rank from the fairly neat three room house of Harry Singer, the so-called "mayor of Squattertown", constructed out of second-hand lumber down to flimsy one-room shacks of tin, wood, tar roofing or any other material which might conceivably shed the rain. One especially neat shack was constructed out of the sides of corrugated paper Carnation Milk boxes, neatly thatched together.

* A "top" is the "roaders" term applied both to a house on wheels or to a temporary shack.

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1. The following document is a report by the writer of a several day's stay in an outlying district near a middle western city of about 100,000 in population. The observer lived in one of the shacks described below and shared meals and work, as well as conversation, with the families.

Inside the shelters dirt, rubbish and unwashed babies ornament the floors. (Squattertown does not practice hygiene, eugenics or birth control).

In the center of the camp there are a number of wagon tops which temporary residents can rent for one dollar a week. Once the rounded wagon tops protected a "covered wagon" type of conveyance, now they have been taken off and placed on a small wooden base on the ground. A covering of rubber roofing and tin sheds the worst of the rain.

Inside the "top's" eight by five floor space (if the visitor is fortunate enough to get the larger of the shelters) the renter would find a small stove, a bunk, with built in compartments underneath, and two narrow benches along the sides. The blankets on the bunks show some crawling vermin.

In a weather-beaten, tumble-down shack just across from the wagon tops lived the Watkins, typical of one type of Squattertown denizens. When the visitor arrived, three tiny youngsters, their features just visible through the time-seasoned coat of dirt, were joyously playing "king of the mountain" on a pile of manure. Their young mother, barelegged as the rest of the women in Squattertown only smiled and went about her work, as she observed a few minutes later, one of the tiny youngsters defecating in one corner of the yard. The family, formerly migratory, had bought its lot and house for winter occupancy but were selling them now, and tuning up the car for further transiency.

Squattertown has its own mores, customs and traditions. A stranger coming in does not need to explain his presence there if he does not wish. If he seems to "belong" he is accepted without question. It is poor form to ask a name not volunteered by the person.

Prominent among the mores is hospitality. If a friend or stranger reaches a shack near meal-time, the call is to "Pull up!" Like the hobo, they will share their last dime with a more needy person. Among the dwellers who "belong" there is free and easy interaction with affectation.

One of the favorite occupations giving expression to this friendly interest is "chinning" or talking. A number of the wanderers have met before, either at some other center or when wintering there in other years. One family claimed to have wintered there eight consecutive years. These earlier contacts and the commonality of experience seem to be building up a kind of group consciousness among the migratory families. It is in part, a

a result of their enforced isolation from the conventional place-stable groups.

Horse-trading furnishes another main time-user, both as occupation and as recreation. One is always sure to find them trading something -- trading "hosses", "tops", knives, anything to be trading. In the winter they have, also, their occasional community dances and drives or walks to the town for the movies.

Another conventional procedure not so much habit as necessity, is the procedure called "crumming", an activity closely akin to what the hobo calls "reading your shirt". For body-lice are not unknown to Squattertown. One father told, laughingly about an experience of the morning. His five year old daughter was observed carefully "crumming" her doll, following her father's having taken care of this phase of personal hygiene for her.

Many of the mores and activities of Squattertown seem unconventional, but one who lives among its inhabitants concludes that they are wholly normal folk, as normal as teachers, or barbers or students, but folk adjusted to a novel and unconventioned mode of living under strong primary group relationships.

But the careful tuning of motors, the "booting" up of worn-out tires for "spares" or -- for the roader -- the trading of "hauses" to get a team for the road are activities assuring the observer that these intimate relationships will not be lasting ones for the migratory families, only as they "winter" together again, or meet "on the road."

The Homeless Family in Winter

Except in the south, winter would seemingly present an insoluble obstacle to continued transiency of the homeless. The homeless man has his "Stem" with its area of cheap rooming houses to which he can go. The typsy, in the past at least, has had his racial centers where he can go. Halstead Street in Chicago has been one of these. But what of the native-American nomadic family?

Centers of the type of "Squattertown" are one explanation. Others "squat" along the river or railroad track throw-

ing up some rough shack or living in a canvass tent with the floor boarded in. One family reported themselves as more comfortable wintering this way than in the previous year when they lived in what the owner of the dwelling had ambiguously termed a "modern apartment".

The intermittent transient may rent a home and get a job for a number of months till the "wanderlust" strikes him again. Some govern the location by temperature and take an annual swing south. Southern agencies find as many in winter as in summer. Still others solve the problem as Mr. B_____:

"A young couple in their late twenties with three youngsters, five, four and two in age, came into a Missouri agency 1-31-'29 asking temporary relief and aid in finding work. According to their story, they had arrived in Kansas City a few days before via an old Ford, rented a room and started looking for work. When they were unable to find work and the landlady refused to keep them longer unless they paid their rent they applied for aid.

They claimed to have worked for a great number of years for the W._____ J._____ N._____ Construction Company, when slackness of work started them on the road a little before Christmas. All the names and other references given proved fictitious when investigated.

Throughout the winter they relied on the charities for their means of subsistence, although Mr. B. found an occasional odd job. He finally claimed to have secured a permanent job in an electrical appliance company, and secured a guaranteed grocery order on the strength of his supposed job. The agency learned later that he attempted to convert this into cash for gas and oil. Failing in this, he took out the order in groceries and disappeared. He phoned the agency before leaving that "they were going on as far as they could with the money they had". (Case B. 18 - K.C.)

Some of the migratory families, then, descend on a city, declare their intention of staying, secure occasional work,

and count on the agency supplying the difference between their wages and that necessary to live and to build up a "stake" for further travel.

Agency records indicate however, that a few families remain on the road all winter. Topeka, Kansas, reports as many calls in winter as in summer this last year--which means not that there are as many transients but that a very large percentage of those traveling in winter have to get aid.

Mid-winter travel works many hardships on the children as Case A-1 indicates:

Mr. and Mrs. H., with eight children ranging from ten months to fifteen years arrived at the office of a social agency in mid-winter asking for assistance. They said that they were enroute to Mrs. H's sister in Nebraska, who they are sure "will look after them until they could get employment".

Mr. H. was extremely ragged and very dirty. He seemed to have no concern for the suffering imposed on the children by mid-winter travel with the thermometer 15 degrees below zero. They were traveling with an oil stove in the car to ward off the worst of the cold. Two days later the H's were again on their winter pilgrimage, provisioned for the road from money given them by pitying individuals in the city.

The Family Group and Transiency

In the past the tramp and hobo have frequently sought the irresponsible, day-by-day life of the road as a refuge from domestic cares and family responsibility. The road life meant removal from family life. Unlike the hobo, movement for the

transient family has not excluded its members from primary group contacts of the family, but made them still more intimate. The following description minus one or two of its more dramatic details is typical of many such families on the road.

A woman trailed by a number of half-clad, dirty but alert-looking youngsters, came in the Salvation Army at K_____ asking emergency relief and additional assistance for the trip through to Indiana where her father lived.

The worker followed them out to the car, a Ford truck of ancient vintage with its top constructed out of cracker-boxes, where arrangements were made for the night. Youngsters protruded in all directions from the car tonneau when they were loaded in to go to the rooming house provided for the night.

The woman explained that she and her husband were on the road most of the time. Because of their incessant moving the children had never been in school.

The Army furnished groceries and rent while in the city, clothed the youngsters to a decency standard, and furnished three dollars for gas and oil to continue them on their way.

All the auto-transient groups on the road do not represent complete family groups. Of the hundred cases studied, at least six were broken-family groups where one parent has separated from the other and taken the children with him on the road, or where there is a living together by common consent of individuals already married. With the latter there were children by a former union.

The fact of family transiency involves a number of unique elements, but they may be exaggerated. It does seem to represent, however, a juggling of social philosophies and ages.

It would seem to be a remnant of the intense family individualism of a rural type persisting under conditions of highly urbanized mobility. From the viewpoint of the economist it would appear to be a relic of the period of household economy carried over into an industrialized urban life.

For the family does act as an economic unit. Each child represents an additional, work asset in berry picking or other light harvests. They represent even more of an asset to the parasitic family wishing community aid. An emotional appeal, they have found, furnishes the necessary preparation for a financial appeal or "touch". Additional children are a gold mine rather than a liability to the wandering mendicant.

Frequently one of the pair is as dominant in the making of decisions as with the D's:

"Mr. D. is very timid and retiring in manner. She (Mrs. D.) takes the initiative in all conversations..... He is obviously a puppet in his wife's hands. He depends on her to manage all the conversation, and any statements which he makes are only brought out by direct questioning." Case record in B-4-K.C. 5.

The urges toward transiency may be just as much the decision of one individual as with the hobo, but unlike the homeless man the individual has not become dissatisfied with family life or the desire for movement has come after marriage. He may be habituated to family life, in itself fairly successful, or find in his family an economic advantage as well as portable response

1. This assumption of leadership by one of the couple may, however be an effect of transiency rather than a condition previous to travel, for in the series of minor crises continually involved in the transient life one of the parents would naturally assume the leadership.

group.

The basis of family integrity is, partly, a matter of economic necessity. Socially, it supplies a natural response group which enables the group to exist in semi-isolation from the majority of society which is place-stable. Also, it furnishes the man with his sex-satisfactions within the family group.

While it has been pointed out that there are other explanations of family solidarity other than ties of affection, unquestionably, there are these added for many of the families. There is certainly a degree of shared activities and experiences seldom had by the stable family. Close interaction would tend to exist in such enforced physical proximity, but frictions as well as affection are doubly magnified.

At least, the relationships of the family group must be reckoned one of the dominant elements in the life of the road, since they do supply the one, little varying influence.

b. The Children.

Society is concerned still more with the children and the affects of constant travel on them than with the parents. A few statistics are available on the number of children which are concerned, and the size of the family group.

Summaries of cases going through the Pueblo (Colorado) Clearing Office and Confidential Exchange over a period September 15, 1927 to September 15, 1928) recorded 117 families having with them 297 children. The average size of the family group would

be larger than first indicated since their data included married pairs traveling without children.

An analysis of family groups asking relief as they passed through Colorado Springs in the year beginning October 1, 1923 reported 87 children traveling in twenty-eight families. This included those traveling by car, wagon and hitch-hiking. Of these children thirty-one were under six years of age, and thirty four between the ages of six and fourteen.

The Wichita League for Social Work regarded in their confidential exchange blanks twenty-eight families with 87 children. Thirty-one were under six, thirty-one were under six, thirty-four between six and fourteen, and the remainder were above fourteen. Four of these were parents having five children each, traveling in a single car. Another family had seven children packed in with sardine-can efficiency.

In our own earlier series (a series of cases taken in 1924-25) 149 children traveled with forty-two families. This gave an average (arithmetic) of about four (3.71) children per family. Of these, fifty-four were under six years of age, fifty-seven six to fourteen years (or school age), twenty above fourteen years, and eighteen unassigned as to ages.

In B series 142 children traveled with the forty-three families having children with them on the road, or an arithmetic average of 3.3 children per family. Of these sixty were under six years, sixty-four in the school period (6-14) sixteen above

fourteen, and two unassigned as to age. The family groups are, apparently, a little larger than the average size of family in the United States, but it is little, if any, different from that of families of unskilled laborers or others on a like economic level.

Frequently, as in the case, described in the opening narrative, another individual or another family is traveling with them, usually in the same car.

In the study a family was arbitrarily defined as any group where there was at least one parent and one child. It was impossible to hold this division for the statistical summaries since some of the agency records include couples (living together by common-law or by formal marriage) having no children. For statistical purposes the results are not greatly influenced since the lack of children is usually more a matter of recency of marriage than intention. In A series of fifty cases, six were without children, in B series, seven were without children, a figure which has little significance in indicating the actual percentage on the road who do not have children with them.

The ages of the children are indicative of two problems, one a health question, the other an educational one. The younger children are not strong enough to stand the rigors of the road, yet ten babies, two to nine months in age, were recorded in the B series. Youngsters, still breast-feeding, are exposed to a life rigorous even for an adult. They are in addition particularly

susceptible to the diseases bred of inadequate family and camp sanitary precautions.

Figures previously given also indicate a large group of children of school age. Educationally, the transient child is immeasurably handicapped with his frequent changes of place. They tend to lose interest with their school ties continually being broken, and to cease school relatively early. The attitude of the parents toward school is reflected in the statement of a child when asked whether he went to school. He replied, "We don't go to school. We travel." Another youngster asked about school turned to his mother and queried: "Mother, how many states have I gone to school in?" and proceeded to list off nine or ten states where he had entered school only to leave after a few days or weeks.

Municipal officers whose business it is to see that children are in school do not inspect too rigidly this class of people. To place the children in school might mean the holding of the family in the city.

Other lacks are equally significant to the children. They have a highly artificial home life, though probably no more than that of the apartment-house dweller. They have been cheated out of the normal play-life of children. Their mode of travel prevents permanency of relationships with any children outside the family. A number of youngsters, (as well as a number of parents)

were born somewhere under a tree along the roadside or under a canvass "top".

The number of children assume some importance if these children are being home-educated for transiency. Every "roader" recognizes a something about the road which seems, as they say "to get into the blood" until they are forced back on the road. This pull of the road has sometimes been termed the "wanderlust". They themselves recognize this fever for the road, but seldom realize that they are implanting the same desire into the children which they deplore in themselves. (See type B--Chapter III). The children become accustomed to a locomotive type of home-life and a constantly changing environment. They grow up with the feeling of "not belonging anywhere", either in a physical locality or in a social grouping. The manner of self-maintenance used by the family also makes its impact on their developing personality.

The Means of Support

The job environment, like the family group, acts as a constant factor in influencing the personality. The type of support varies. The wage-earners among the nomadic family groups might be roughly divided into the men who work whenever they get a chance, the men who occasionally works as the impulse strikes them, the men who can't work, and the men who make a profession out of "getting by".

Classified on an economic basis they are:

- A. The self-supporting
 - 1. By a money-reserve or "stake" from a previous job.
 - 2. Migratory occupation.
 - a. Seasonal labor and casual work.
 - b. Peddling or other itinerant trades.
- B. The temporarily dependent
 - 1. By "hard luck" (as car-trouble or sickness)
 - 2. By difficulty in finding a job.
 - 1.
- C. Intermittently dependent.
 - 1. By low wages or intermittent work.
 - 2. Seasonal fluctuation in industry.
 - 3. By personality limitation.
 - 2.
- D. Chronically dependent.
 - 1. By complete inability to hold a job because of physical or mental inadequacies or handicaps.
 - 2. By unwillingness to work or to accept responsibility for family support.
(The "mendicant" type.)

Among those who attempt to be self-supporting are the harvesters of crops. The following paragraph is descriptive of the migratory workers of the western coast.

"The families follow the crops. At the present time (1-22-29) some are working in the lettuce fields in the Imperial Valley. These are almost entirely Mexican. In March the harvest in the asparagus fields starts and runs till the first of July. In the meantime cherries have ripened and have to be picked in the Vacaville and Santa Clara districts. Families then move to the apricots -- then hops, peaches, pears, prunes, grapes, rice and cotton. 3.

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- 1. See discussion under Type A. Chapter II.
 - 2. Ibid.
 - 3. Letter from California Division of Housing and Sanitation.

The few and poorly coordinated labor exchanges in the United States cannot place the worker rapidly enough to keep him from occasional bare subsistence if not dependence. Working on a piece basis or a day-by-day rate he has to take all the risks if bad weather prevents work. The cost of moving to a new job eats into his meager savings. Work cannot always be found. Itinerant trades, as peddling, painting of car tops or any other trade favorable to constant move may be a little more lucrative but no less uncertain. Much of the peddling, as of paper flowers or baskets is a cloak for begging.

Techniques for Securing Aid

Among the techniques employed to "get by" without work are the following, none of them mutually exclusive:

(a) the unverifiable story; (b) the highly emotionalized story; (c) the personal need appeal; (d) the war record approach, (e) the appeal on the basis of affiliation; (f) the "street act".

A third of the families in the study gave false addresses or references that could not be checked. Telegrams to the addresses brought back the reply that the address was a blink or that the firm had gone out of business, or that there was some other hindrance to checking.

The emotional story is also very popular. With few exceptions, dirt and rags are taken to indicate need. Clean children do not attract attention, but if they are dirty, sockless, clothes half off, the reaction is:

"Oh, the poor little things! They look so distressed. I must give them something to help them where they are going."

A gallon of water and a keg of soap frequently constitutes the difference between an unsuccessful appeal and a money-producing one.

The following newspaper clipping tells of one of many techniques of getting by employed by the M_____ family.

"People dining in a southwest cafe heard a bright faced, ragged urchin tell a pitiful tale of misery, want and utter destitution. His father had deserted, his mother was ill, and the whole family was suffering with hunger, and about to be evicted. The five-cent magazines he was selling brought quarters, dimes and dollars from the sympathetic listeners..... During the day they went from door to door selling their toilet goods or flowers or magazines, and telling their pitiful tale."

The family mentioned above had traveled about for six years with its main sources of support the stage-dancing of the children and agency aid. Under the legal hindrances to movement used by a Kansas City Social agency they used the above type of appeal.

The dramatic story is usually based as in the above narration, on the familial basis with the children as the main source of appeal, trained to add poignancy to the entreaty.

The making of paper flowers, of flower baskets, coat-hangers, the selling of special drug or toilet preparations and other types of peddling frequently contribute to travel expense. A pathetic story usually is used to add to their saleability. When the town has been thoroughly worked the family moves on.

The appeal of personal need is always productive, since it has a basis in fact. A physical defect, real or simulated, illness in the family, desire (feigned or real) to get work or to find a city where work can be had; all of these are frequently the cause or the excuse for a "touch".

The veteran who can exhibit a well-worn service discharge has in his claim for "service to the Stars and Stripes" an effective stimulant to relief giving -- and an often used one. His request merges into the "affiliation appeal" since the parasitic, war veteran usually utilizes his American Legion connections. Others encountered use lodge claims and church ties to make contact. The last family referred to has a chronic habit of church-going, each time going on when the churches' relief resources or patience are exhausted.

With a number of the roving mendicants their techniques for self-support without labor have developed into a most ingenious art. One of the most novel of these was that of the A's:

Mr. A. reported at the office of a Kansas agency asking for shelter and assistance for himself and wife. He said that he had heard that the S. H. kept a supply of times on hand, and he needed three badly to help him on his way to K_____, Nebraska, where there was a promise of work.

Later they said that for fifteen years they had maintained a small summer resort in a western state. They had lost it they claimed through a crooked business deal. They were now returning from the south where they had driven in the hope of finding work, and had remained there until only a few days before.

Mr. and Mrs. A were cared for by the agency in a rooming house maintained by them while references were wired. Mrs. A moved in only after considerable hesitancy because of her fear for the care of her prize cats which she kept with her in the rear of the car.

A letter to one of the cities visited gave unexpected light on their manner of living.

The man and his wife, the letter disclosed, used the summer traveling from tourist camp to tourist camp patronizing only the best of shelters. Mr. A. dressed well and neatly, and they drove a good car. Their fine appearance and affable manner made them many friends in these camps.

They would get the names and addresses of these road-side acquaintances, and would, later, correspond with them. These cards and notes written from still other tourist camps would tell them of the splendid time they were having at such-and-such camp, express their enjoyment of the previous meeting, and intimate that they hoped that they might have the pleasure of meeting them again some day. And, Mrs. A would add, if they should be driving through the city she hoped that they would let them hang her hat on the hall-tree, shove their feet under the table, and renew old acquaintances.

After an intensive letter-cultivation in the summer, the couple would tour the country in the winter making the rounds of these with their story of hard luck, and expense money delayed in reaching them. After they had exhausted the sources of supplies with one of these "friends" and capitalized on new acquaintances made through them, they would move on to another "friend". They would always keep a reserve list ahead for cultivation. B-36 Wta.

Many other techniques were encountered in the study of the different types outlined. One worker with transients has

discovered still another source of gas and oil supplies -- the tanks of gas and oil left by the farmer for refueling purposes in a distant field. The fliver-tramp will drive a few miles and park till after dark. A trip back, a well-placed blow to the lock on the tank, two or three trips with a large can, which forms an invariable part of the car's equipment, and the car is refueled for another half-day run.

Some transients have been found to go to the edge of a city, park their good tires in a concealed place along the road-side, put on some old worn-out tires and "limp" into town asking for aid to go on. Having secured it they will drive out to the place their tires were left, put them on again, and drive on to the next city.

If necessary, there is always a car-part or a tool that can be traded off. One family was able to leave town by trading its small victrola for several gallons of gas. Another traded off the generator of his Ford for car supplies, and ran the car without a generator.

But in all means of support there is the element of insecurity. In their method of living there is a feeling of precariousness which is damaging to personality.

It means a living day-by-day or week-by-week, and a sacrificing of those satisfactions beyond subsistence which give status in the community. Attention is focused on immediates rather than remotes. They live somewhat as the families

In a hunting stage of civilization, described by Dewey as typical of the "hunting psychosis". There is "an immediacy of relation between the want, the overt activity, that which affords satisfaction, and the attained satisfaction." There is not the long-circuiting between want and fulfillment characteristic of an orderly, civilized society.

The Problem of the Transient

If the communities through which many migratory families travel were asked to summarize the problems of the transients as stable folk see them, they would probably be stated in some such way as: sickness, shiftlessness, lack of schooling for the children, homelessness, parasitism, and restlessness.

Moralistic terms applied to the transient are commonly because, first, of the economic loss which roving families frequently cause for the community. Debits to the community come both through lack of performance of any regular work, and through the financial drain their dependency places on the communities where they appeal for aid as they pass through.

The city institutions aiding dependents rather represent expenditures on their behalf since they feel that the

1. Dewey, "Interpretation of the Savage Mind", Thomas, Social Origins.

responsibility belongs more to the city of last legal residence rather than to the cities along their route of travel. Funds needed for service to local residents are expended on a floating population.

The problem of ill-health is frequent among the transients, the frequency increasing with the fame of the locality as a health resort. Tuberculosis, heart trouble, epilepsy, rheumatism, asthma, and stomach ulcers were among ailments often encountered. Other diseases of more contagious nature were also met. These diseases are easily spread to new communities by lack of precaution. Other physical defects such as crippled limbs, bad sight and defective hearing are sometimes found.

The "shiftlessness" charged against the homeless wanderer is in part due to lack of understanding of the way in which a family becomes migratory. One element of the imagined shiftlessness is in part the economic factor in the life of the transient due to unemployment (or irregular employment) with a social attitude of social irresponsibility. It is evident that the uncertainty of employment is an ever-present problem of the migratory, nor is there always a willingness to accept work when it is found.

The sporadic school attendance of the children in

the traveling household is one of the most obvious and the most genuine of handicaps of the road life. An earlier section of the chapter discussed this and mentioned the possible influence of nomadism in early childhood toward conditioning a like career for the children. They also like a normal play-life in which they can experience the educative values of play both for self-development and for training in group participation.

"Homelessness" is seen as another hazard by a community trained to a verbal worship of the home, if not to a very extensive use of it. Homelessness is not in itself so important, but because it symbolizes the lack of a stable location necessary for participation in groups and in socially valued activities. Function and social interaction in a stable society are largely dependent upon a relatively fixed position. From the standpoint of function the transient family is a socially marginal group. From the standpoint of interaction it is an isolated group.

Society sees a fourth problem in the anti-social acts of the car migrant. These may take the form of minor pilfering or mendicant behavior. Such activities are unconventional habits developed out of the freedom from social controls which they have living on the road.

"Restlessness" or the migratory tendency is a fifth difficulty growing out of their continued movement. It hinders the taking up of an abode or satisfaction with a permanent residence if it is attempted.

It would appear that transiency is largely futile toward satisfying the purposes which the migrants offer for their movement. Health difficulties are often made worse rather than better. The advantages accruing to travel could be secured almost invariably under proper conditions of relaxation and diet at home.

Work, the reason for travel offered by a majority of the travelers, is often harder to secure in a new city where the wage earner is unacquainted with work opportunities. Other explanations for transiency offered by members of the touring fraternity also evaporate under analysis. Evidently, an understanding of the motivation of the chronic migrant must be sought elsewhere than in the reasons for travel. (See discussion in Chapter II.)

Territorial Distribution of the Problem

The final question which this chapter will attempt to answer will be: in what communities and regions are the migratory families found in the most numbers.

Family transiency by auto is apparently a social

phenomenon more native to the central and western areas, north to south, than to the eastern coast where population is thickly concentrated, and free camping space is not so readily found.

Areas of concentration of migratory families seem to coincide roughly with (a) areas of tourist popularity, (b) points of land-boom, (c) sections having sudden swells in labor demand(as that caused by harvest demands, oil booms, etc.),and (d) regions popularly known as "health-resorts." Cities located on main cross-country routes especially on those to and from such areas, also suffer. Such points as Wichita, Kansas, coming at the juncture of main travel routes north to south and east to west, would normally have a larger number of transient families, if other factors did not enter into modify it. Naturally enough, areas with one of these features predominating may have a majority of transients differently motivated than those in another area. The transients in Amarillo, Texas, travel in that section for a much different reason than those in the Imperial Valley, California. Nor is the nature of the problem to the city through which they pass quite the same.

The north-eastern corner of Kansas has its potato-raising, Colorado its beet-harvesting, Arkansas and other states their berry picking, and California and the western coast a succession of eight to ten crops which the casual laborer can follow up the coast. Fruit canning and hop-harvesting likewise swells labor demand.

These migratory families may never apply for agency aid. But every migratory family traveling on a narrow margin of savings is a potential dependent just as is the laborer in the city who lives on a bare sustaining wage.

Concentration of the transient problem also varies with the cost of camping sites available. The free tourist-camp collects transient families as garbage collects flies. It is virtually impossible to provide proper facilities and police protection.

The number of the homeless families recorded by social agencies corresponds more with the local policies of relief giving than with the size of the city. A "hard-boiled" policy in a city will divert the stream of travel around a the city or have it pass through without asking aid. Word of such a policy soon circulates among the homeless families.

Thus many influences effect the numbers of transients and agency plans of treatment further exercise a selective effect on the number of dependent families.

But since the data of relief-giving agencies is the only present criterion to measure the number of families on the road, we submit in Appendix A statistics from this source. The material is drawn from questionnaires circulated among family welfare societies, Traveler's Aid and other institutions supplying relief which these organizations referred us to.

Other significant data has not been returned in time to add to this part of the study.

These statistics together with a summary of the policies of treatment will be found in appendix A and should be read as a part of this subject. Appendix B gives the questionnaire in full, as checked by one of the larger city agencies which has to handle a large number of transient families.

Changes in the Problem

Comparison of the results of the present study with those of four years ago show that the character of the problem has changed and will continue to change. The hitch-hiking family would seem to be on the increase. One Salvation Army commander in Topeka cooperating with the family welfare society in caring for the homeless finds that they now had more requests for aid from groups hitch-hiking than from car-transients. Case work agencies have noted the same tendency.

The "roaders" or wagon-tramps of old, we would infer are passing away. However, long-time roaders seem to think that this is not true.

Most significant toward change in the problem has been the passing of the free auto-camp and -- still more recent -- the gradual replacing of the small-fee, pay camps offering tent sites

by the cottage and apartment camp. The Park Board of Kansas City, maintaining a well-equipped camp for tourists writes:

"We find that the number of cars coming through availing themselves of our facilities is growing smaller each year, and in the last year we had the experience, for the first time, of receiving less money than we paid out for the care of the camp. I imagine this is about a ten per cent decrease over.....

Overland Park, Denver records a similar slump in 1926, the park has 3000 less campers than on the previous year, although the city had 12 1/2 times more tourists passing through.

Shifts in the problem have more meaning in light of these changes in camping facilities. The first automobile tourist travel began about 1912. Soon free camps furnishing water, wood, and a place to pitch the tent, were established to meet the current of travel, a current which swelled enormously during the war. This early period was one of the dominance of the free municipal camps offering few services. The pay-camps were inaugurated early, about 1918, but the first period must be classified as one of free camping space. There was almost an epidemic of free auto-camps.

The next period was one of competition between public and private camps. The municipal camps early began to charge a small fee to eliminate "car-tramps". Cottage camps also began to spring up. The recency of the development of the pay-camps and cottage camps in the middle west may offer one reason for the number of migratory families in that region.

We now seem to be entering a period of the private cottage camps. Both free and pay municipal camps are passing, a change that will doubtless influence the auto-transient group. The gradual closing up of road-side camping sites as the cities expand will also be a determinant, as it has been in the east.

Still another force forcing the current of transience into somewhat different channels is the closing of the sources of easy aid in the city agencies, which make it increasingly difficult for a family to receive help without vigorous investigation of references.

It appears that these tendencies have already operated and will continue to operate to push the migratory families into the smaller towns and cities where camping expenses are less and relief available more at the whim of the individual or organization than in accordance with a case work policy. Further observation must be made to check this theory. It is safe to assume, at least, that further changes will come as they have in the past. A far-sighted social policy may aid in predicting these changes and framing policies to meet them to lessen family and community hazards now an outgrowth of the transient life.

CHAPTER II.

The preceding introductory chapter has described the problem as it appears to the casual observer. It indicated something of the size, range and general nature of the problem, the lacks of the transient life, and the social losses which the roving life seems to involve for the communities which they pass through.

With this introduction to the problem much as the casual observer might see it, it will be possible to go more thoroughly into the significance of transiency, and suggest a more scientific classification by types, first by types of movement and second by processes leading into transiency.

Types of Transiency

There is variance both in range of movements and in continuancy of movements. The range of movement differs from the forty-mile radius of transiency around Wichita, Kansas, covered by Red W _____ to the cross country ramblings of Case B-27-Wta.

"We believe that this is the same family that Fort Worth, Texas, asked information on Jan. 4, 1928. On March 30, 1928 Arkansas City reported the family under

the name of C _____. Under date of April 11, 1929, Emporia reports the family under the name of Mrs. Rosa P _____. The Chief of Police, at Columbus reports the family under the name of Mrs. George _____ and five children.

Other families having letters filed in the case-history engage in like cross-country ramblings.

Classified according to continuity of movements and extent of transiency we find:

- a. The Temporary Transient.
- b. The Intermittent Transient.
 - 1. With return to a "headquarter city".
 - 2. With change of residence city.
- c. The Continual (or chronic) Transient.

a. The Temporary Transient.

Among the cases borderlining transiency are the families temporarily transient -- or the families changing the city of residence. There is involved a short period of movement, but movement with direction, movement for the sake of reattachment in some new place which seems to afford better opportunity to satisfy some basic economic or social want. The destination may not be one defined in terms of a particular city, but the traveler does purpose to settle.

The subjective distinction of intention between those who are temporary transients and those who are more permanent is one difficult to record in statistics. As near as

it could be determined a fifth of the cases studied in each series were families coming under this category.

Intermediate between the temporary-transient and the intermittent transient is a classification that might be called "round-trip transiency". The family has taken a first flight of transiency but after a number of months has become dissatisfied with the new locality and returned to the old city. Three cases in each series were so listed, with others possibly belonging in the same group.

The two above types frequently pass over into case-work problems as in the instance cited. A sudden mishap to the car, an unexpected expense, or a failure to find work, and the family has to ask community aid. Cases of temporary transiency have been included in the study since the analysis of processes leading into transiency seem to show a period of movement usually intended as temporary as the first stage toward nomadism.

b. The Intermittent Transient.

Periodic movement need not involve a final change of location. Some families move periodically each spring onto the road, returning again in the fall after several months of migratory work. Two cases were of miners who worked during

the period the mines were open, leaving during the closed season for berry-picking country.

Transiency is, however, usually associated with frequent moves from city to city. These stops may be for work so as to build up a "stake" for further travel, or the family may plan to live in the place, but become dissatisfied after a short period. The only place ties they have to hold them are economic ones, and these are usually slight. This place-instability may develop into chronic transiency.

c. Chronic or Continual Transiency.

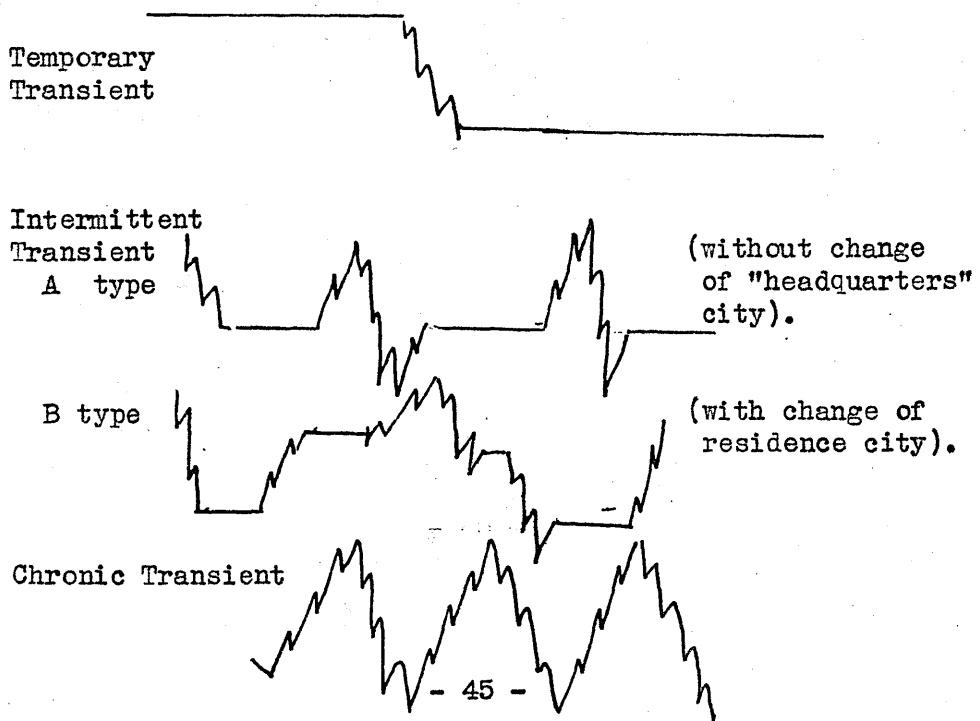
The diary of a chronic transient reads like a railroad time-table. It was verified that a Mr. M. (Case B-11-KC) reached, at various times, Lowell, Mass; Detroit, Mich.; St. Louis, Mo.; Kansas City, Mo.; St. Joseph, Mo.; Kansas City (again); Wichita, Kansas; Houston, Texas; Mexia, Texas; Fort Worth, Texas; Corsicana, Texas and Port Arthur, Texas; Colorado Springs, Colo.; San Diego, Idaho. His own account of his itinerary included Oregon and Washington in addition.

The longest period of transiency found was that of a "roader" who boasted forty-five years of roaming. His wife asserted that "there warn't no place in the United States that my man couldn't find his way to if he could go as they us'ter and didn't have to follow no section lines."

He claimed to have known personally all the famous rustlers and bandits of the early pioneer period.

Roamers of this type have no particular destination. One place will do as well as another but they must keep moving. The mendicants fall in this group, as do the migratory workers, the "marginal" workers who are competent to do only the most casual labor, and those chronically restless.

A diagramic representation of the different types of movement may help to mark the distinction. Using the horizontal direction to indicate the movement in time, the vertical to indicate roughly, movements in space, and a jagged line to indicate transiency we have the following:



Possible Approaches to a Theory of Causation

Various writers who have made extensive study of special migrant classes have attempted to explain the "why" of free-movement and vagrancy (or mobility not sanctioned by the mores.)^{1.}

Of these the theories of Solenberger, Dawson, Nels Anderson and Davenport have gained the widest circulation.^{2.} Others in writings less widely quoted have

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1. It is fairly simple to answer the question, "What is this?" But the task is more difficult when we attempt to explain why they occur. The problem of social science is particularly difficult involving as it does psychological as well as social processes and modifications in internal motivation as well as change in external events.

Yet social science must undertake this task before it can claim to be a science of human collective behavior. Without this knowledge it cannot claim to be a "grown-up" science, describing and explaining certain facts, and on the basis of this knowledge predicting and controlling behavior. For the sociologist this is an imperative need.

The task of social control is a problem of inhibiting, modifying, sublimating or reinforcing fundamental internal drives, as the psychologist points out, but it is also the task of setting up external situations in which the desired drives and tendencies can most easily operate (and be selected by the individual to operate). This study attempts to suggest a method of determining through what external play of circumstances, interacting with internal drives and tendencies the stable family becomes transient. If the analysis is correct a more scientific basis for social control and social therapy may result.

2. Dawson, Why There are Vagrants; Solenberger, One Thousand Homeless Men; Nels Anderson, The Hobo; Davenport, The Feebly Inhibited.

proposed still other hypotheses. Their suppositions vary from a single unit (or monistic theory) of writers such as Davenport to theories of multiple causation as advanced by Solenberger and Nels Anderson.

Davenport holds that the wandering impulse is due to the absence of a single-sex-linked gene which "determines domesticity". He terms it a nomadic instinct, as have others writing still earlier. Other theorists have ascribed transiency to the "wanderlust", to a kind of "motor disorder" forming a specific compulsion of the monomania type^{1.} or to other particularistic causes.

Such single-factor theories must be criticized on the basis of over-simplification. A single theory cannot adequately account for any phenomena set up by the interaction of many different types of influence. In transiency the personal factors alone are complex. The temperament of the two parents, their economic productivity, their family scheme of life, (including their method of solving problems) their previous experiences, both on and off the road, the types of relationships they had set up in the community which they left, all seem to have an important bearing. These factors have interacted both with themselves and with the external social situation to produce transiency.

1. Morgan suggests this in his Psychology of Abnormal People. p. 293.

Another approach suggests itself from the studies of mental abnormalities. Such elements as the above would be characterized by them as "pre-disposing causes"^{1.} This term is applied to the back ground factors out of which the pathological behavior or mental state developed. But without a crisis-situation -- or "exciting cause" to use their term -- the tendency growing out of these fundamental preconditions might never have assumed dramatic proportions. Both preconditions and precipitating situations must be taken into account, then, to understand the phenomena of the homeless.

Pre-existing factors in the social milieu and the material environment are also dynamic toward defining and delimiting the reaction of the family to the disturbing situation. The mores, current social attitudes toward mobility, the technical side of culture seen in improved and cheapened instruments of transportation, the nature of the economic organization of society: these are particularly important here.

All these fundamental elements, acting as they do over a long period of time in different places, groups and situations, make to alter personality and the character of adjustment chosen. A theory by multiple causation also seem inadequate.

Instead it would seem a valid procedure to approach

behavior of the migratory sort through a developmental theory rather than a simple cause effect explanation. This would require a statement in terms of a casual sequence or process.

Also an adequate theory would need to grow out of a case-by-case analysis, since each family represents a unique compounding of elements. It is necessary to find "why did a particular family become transient". We have followed this method in arriving at the statement of general process given in this chapter.

The statement of casual sequence is preceded by narrative history of a family illustrative of the general movement of factors leading to transiency. The same method is followed in presenting the major sub-types of the process.

Presentation of Type Case.

2.

The following document gives a family life history in detail. The history of transiency as a family group covers three summers. Then followed a break-up in the family when Mrs. Williams with her twenty-four year old daughter and two-year old child spent a brief but spectacular period of mendicancy on the road with Mr. Enders, once the consort of Mrs. William's mother.

1. Cooley, Social Process; Mowrer, Domestic Discord; Cavaghn, "Suicide Process", Suicide;
2. The life history has been secured from three sources: a rather complete case-history supplied by the M.W. Charities, conversations with three case-workers who have handled the case at various times, and supplemental information secured from Mr. Williams in a two-hour informal interview.

Mr. W. is not at all bitter toward his wife, but wishes her back in the home. He will make no statement against her or his mother-in-law.

Their wanderings were stopped at Los Angeles under the circumstances described in the opening document. Mr. Enders was sentenced to prison, and the rest of the pseudo-family were returned home by the city of Los Angeles.

Efforts were made by the Wichita City Charities to reunite the whole family, but failed. At the time the narrative was written (May, 1929) Mrs. Williams still planned to return to her common-law husband of the trip as soon as he is released from prison.

Since their return and the wife's separation from her husband she has practiced some prostitution and forced her daughter, Rachel, to help in the same way toward their support.

Case Report

San Francisco Police Department.

To Captain O. M. Manning -- San Francisco, Cal., Oct. 2, 1928. Name of Party Arrested -- A. J. Enders, Rachel Williams and Elizabeth Williams. Ages 42-24-45.

Modus Operandi: Rachel was picked up at Rdwy and Locust by Officer Shaffer while she was soliciting money. She carries a book stating that she is subject to epilepsy and wished money for treatment. She was turned over to Mrs. Wilson, who learned from her of a man that she was to meet at Lincoln Park at noon. She was taken to the Park at noon by Mrs. Cander, and Rachel pointed out Enders who was, at the time, asking a merchant for aid. He was carrying a book and pencil pretending that he was deaf and dumb. He was arrested and brought to the station by Wright. After prints and a picture of him were taken, Lanning ran a whizzer (1) on him, and he began talking. Rachel says that she is afraid of Enders, that he and her mother live together as man and wife, and that he is an ex-convict from Kansas.

-
1. An instrument which sends a current of electricity thru the body.

He admits doing time in Lansing, Kansas, for Burglary. Got 1 to 5 years.

Witnesses: Man in Cigar-stand in front of the Park Barber shop.

(Additional history)

Rachel says that they have been on the road from Kansas about three months, and that they have begged their way most of the time, staying in San Diego for about a week. They also spent some time in Yuma, Arizona. States that some days they get as much as \$30 and \$40.

Elizabeth Williams was arrested at the Camp by Mrs. Williamson, and brought to the Station where she says she does not know what her daughter and Enders were doing, and that she does not live with Enders as his wife, that they live together but have separate beds.

We are holding all three as well as a two-year old child of Elizabeth, and plan on calling in the Department of Justice to see about a Mann Act charge.¹

At the time the child of two was placed in our care, when the mother was sent to jail, he was in a deplorably dirty condition, although otherwise showing good physical care. We cared for him several days, and he looked like a different youngster. Within one day after returning him to his mother he was again in the same filthy condition and swearing fluently as when picked up.....

Family History of the Williams

Little is known of the early life of either husband or wife. Mr. Williams was one of a number of brothers and sisters. His father was a railroader of long experience, only recently retired.

When still a youngster of fourteen Williams went the section, competing with men twice his size and age. This early work eliminated any possibility of schooling beyond the third grade.

At seventeen he married a girl, then fourteen, now his wife, the present Mrs. Williams. The marriage was with the consent of the parents. After he married he returned, with his bride, to New Mexico. Here he

1. Mr. Enders was "sent up" later for a year.

he was soon promoted to the job as section-boss, and stationed at a lonely flagstop. The loneliness was hard to accept at first, but the early birth of Rachel, and later Tommy, made it seem more livable.

They spent six years at this place. There were a few trips taken back to the brides parents in Kansas. Always the hope of a promotion encouraged them with the possibility it offered for a placement in a town or city.

After a six years stay he received word of a promotion which would take him into a thriving little city in Texas. Then an accident occurred which caused a complete change of life-plans. The record states bluntly, "Got into trouble when he killed a Mexican laborer in self-defense as the laborer was about to leap on him with a knife."

The inference is that the discontent and friction bound to arise in a group living in enforced isolation suddenly flared up, leading to the attack by the worker.

Williams was cleared by court of any homicidal intent, but was not reinstated in the employ of the Santa Fe.

He was advised by his friends to leave the country temporarily in case of further trouble. After departure he spent a short period with his father. He then went to Kansas City where his wife's mother lived. He has lived there since that time except for the months spent on the road.

Before or during the period of his residence there, his mother-in-law, Mrs. Dane, is said to have lived as the common-law wife of Mr. Enders. Mr. Enders at some unknown time was "sent up" to the Missouri penitentiary on a burglary charge.

After arrival in Kansas City, Mr. Williams worked intermittently at any kind of work he could secure through the employment service of the city Charities. But work was uncertain and wages were not high. He was occasionally forced to secure aid from the social agency.

A description of the situation by the case-worker at the close of 1923 said of Mrs. Williams that she was a "sane and sensible woman for her limited opportunities." The home life was considered normal, stable and harmonious. There was one slight difficulty over the schooling of the boy, Harold, whom Mrs. Williams occasionally held out of school to aid in the laundry.

Mrs. Williams had not, at first, supplemented the family income by outside work. Later, she urged her husband to secure a washing machine so that she could add to his meager and inconsistent earnings. After the electric-washer was purchased her washings sometimes brought in as much as \$15.00 a week. Howard, the fifteen year old boy quit school about this time to go to work.

Rachel, the oldest daughter returned to her parents about the close of the year, or a little later, after an unsuccessful attempt at marriage with an army recruiting officer, thirteen years her elder. The tiny baby, sick at the time of her arrival died shortly after. The following she lost the older child when the court awarded the custody of him to her husband.

The following are occasional excerpts taken from case-history recorded after the first and a half years. (Sept. 12,) '24. "Visited. Found family living in three small rooms. The front room serves as sleeping quarters for the entire family. The furniture in the room consisted in a sanitary cot and chair. The floor was very dirty. From all appearances it had not been swept for weeks. Mrs. W., was herself very dirty, as was her youngster son.

"When V (1) asked if she might be admitted, W (2) stated that she could.

When inquiry was made as to her sending the children to school, she stated that she would send them if we would get them ready. She was very hateful, and her attitude toward the Charities was very bitter.

"Mrs. W. stated that they had not been out of the city during the summer. Later she admitted that they had driven to Colorado, but asserted that her brother had paid all the expenses, and that it was in his car that they had gone.....

"Miss Dicherson of the Public Health Nursing Association called by phone, stating that she had given Mrs. W linens and towels to use when she was ill. They had called for them several times, and they never had them ready. Mrs. W was the first who had refused to do this."

(Entry Sept. 13) '24. "Children were down to be fitted out in clothing for school)"

(April 8) '25. "A steady job as janitor of First Methodist church was secured for M through the employment office. He is to receive \$15.00 a week during the summer months, and during the winter he will receive \$100.00 a month.

1. V. is the term used in the records for "visitor" or case-worker.

2. W is the symbol used for the wife, and M for the husband.

The parents in New Mexico seem to have urged him to bring his family back south for a visit. Mr. Williams, made a sudden decision in favor of leaving and threw up his job. After securing an ancient Ford, he started south with his wife and children. On the round trip they spent several months, stopping, occasionally to work on road construction gangs or in other casual labor.

This was the first of several trips. Each time he would start out with an old car and thirty or forty dollars stake. The family would then return in the fall for another winter round of odd jobs and borderline dependency.

These trips, he claims -- and apparently honestly-- were financed solely by the money saved up before leaving and by the work along the way and at the place of destination.

Other excerpts continue:

1-5-27 -- "Visited for information for Mr. Carpenter. House was very dirty. W. was not at home When asked regarding his school attendance, Tommy said that his mother could not do the washing alone. She occasionally kept him at home to help her.

"He says that he does not have shoes to wear to school. His father says that he will not buy them as long as the county will supply clothing for him. He says that his father is employed most of the time at odd jobs. Thomas has been in school only irregularly. The teacher asserts that his clothing is always dirty....."

A neighbor of the W's informed the case-worker that M frequently complained to her that W would not plan ahead, as in canning for later need, and that he was forced to clean up the house when he came home from work.

Mr. Williams did not always get along well with the neighbors. On arriving home from work on a night shift he would want to sleep or to chat with his wife. However, frequently, he found that the neighbors had dropped in to talk with his wife. He soon put a stop to this, telling them if they wanted to talk to his wife they had to do it while he was away. Later he threatened to chase them away if he found them there after he reached home from work. As he said, "A feller wants to be alone with his wife sometimes. I'm not the kind who wants folks around all the time."

Night work, secured for him by the employment office, proved tiring, partly because of the noise of the children when he wished to sleep.

1-19-27 -- "Explained that it was useless for the county to supply clothing when the child did not attend school. Mr. Williams did not seem to understand our attitude, however, and said that he would put the boy in the reformatory if the county did not furnish clothing for him.

6-9-27 -- Mr. Watts, house superintendent says Mr. W. in Lamar, Colorado, as he drove through there on his vacation. Mr. W. was on his way south.

12----- '27 -- Rachel becomes ill at Augusta where she is working. Is taken to the hospital. The trouble, diagnosed as an embolism lodged on the brain, left her with little strength and with great difficulty in collecting and expressing her thoughts. The trouble left her mentally inert for several months. The physical effect was much that of a stroke of paralysis.

Rachel took a trip to Eldorado for the week-end with a man to whom she claimed to be married. On this trip, which took place late in 1927 or early in 1928, the man seemed to have given her some drug, which left her in a half-dazed condition.

In the spring of 1928 the Charities, after a case-conference, informed Mr. Williams that further aid would be withheld the following winter if he persisted in throwing up permanent work to spend the summer on the road. All his summer savings were expended for the trip, they said, rather than laying them aside for the winter. Consequently the agency had to support him in the winter.

It was at this time that Enders seems to have proposed the trip south and westward. "Elizabeth looks toil-worn and frail, physically, and we are inclined to believe her when she says that she was so tired she could not resist a trip to California, no matter what method she was forced to take to achieve that vacation. (1) Enders further suggested that they take Violet along, as the trip might help her to recover her health.

Mrs. Williams accepted his plan and "lit out" with Enders, Rachel and her youngest son for a three month's period of parasitic transiency. The methods employed were described in the opening report.

Soon after her return, the agency suggested that the children should be taken away from the home. Mr. Williams

1. Letter from San Francisco Police Department to Charities, Kansas City.

immediately forged a check and disappeared for a short time with the children.

The narrative is brought up to date by the introductory statement.

Summary of Analysis

The story of the Williams family is one of a "normal" family in transition from economic security and settled habits to intermittent transiency, unsettled habits and dependency. Later the family is broken up by the departure of the wife and daughter for a brief period of mendicancy.

Its routine of life was violently disrupted by the crisis situation in New Mexico. Its hope of promotion was also destroyed. This disturbance required a drastic revision of its scheme of life. Among the necessary changes was one of residence, a change thrusting it into an environment of a new type. It is one far more complex and far more urbanized than the simple situation of isolation and minor responsibility (with the man as foreman) to which they had become adjusted.

The family deteriorated, after they changed to Wichita, under the influence of the intermittent work as casual laborer. This brought a dependence upon external aid, that of the social agency for the handling of any unsolved difficulties.

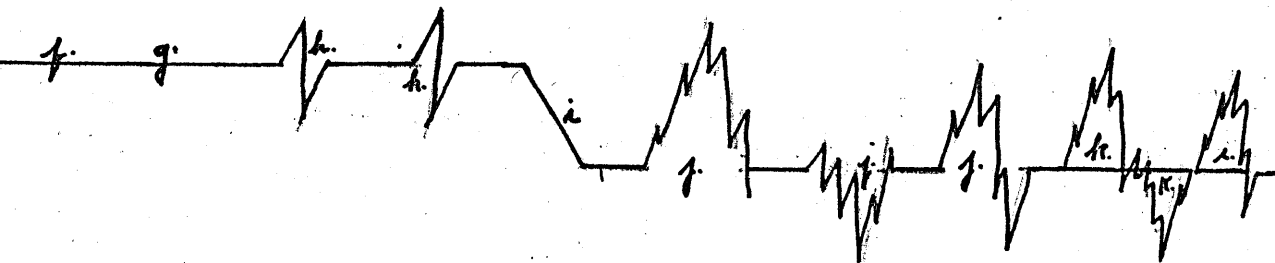
The family later included periodic transiency in its scheme of adjustments. This brought them into a new and stimulating environment, that of the road, with its excitements and stimulations. It also gave a means of renewing family ties for

the man.

In the summer of 1928 this escape was apparently going to be cut off. The social agency had refused to give any further aid if they continued their summer travels. Later, we will discuss the process leading to the woman's flight on a parasitic basis.

Detailed Analysis

A diagram indicating the nature and type of moves gives the following:



- f. Childhood
- g. Long period of family life in one place,
broken only by -----
- h. Visits to wife's parents (train).
- i. Change of residence following crisis. Change
involved in a brief period of movement.
- j. Summer transiencies (for four or five month
periods.)
- k. Mendicancy of wife, daughter and baby with
Mr. Enders.
- l. Brief period of transiency of father with child-

ren, due to emotional upset and the fear the children might be taken from him.

The steps from place stability to intermittent transiency (with return to a headquarters city but to a new location in that city) includes:

Economic Security and Place Stability with Isolation.

Sudden Crisis.

Change of Residence (involving complete severance of old locality ties).

Urban Unadjustment.

Loss of Security and Status.

Intermittent Dependency.

Transiency (by casual labor as means of support).

Specific Analysis

Mr. and Mrs. Williams, soon after marriage, were thrust by job demands into a condition involving a large degree of isolation with contacts limited, mainly, to those of the primary sort with the laborers in Mr. William's gang, mostly Mexicans.

They succeeded in making their adjustment, however, to isolation, aided by the company of Rachel, the baby born soon after arrival. They were also buoyed up by the hope of an advancement which would take them out of that situation. The visits back to the mother were also a relief. They had,

however, gained economic security by their steady income. The position as foreman gave Mr. Williams some sense of status.

News of the advancement placed them on a psychological peak which made the crisis bound in the killing of the Mexican seem even more abrupt and demoralizing. It meant a complete revision of the family scheme of life. Mr. Williams was not reinstated in the railroad employ. Lack of a job and hostile community attitudes made it advisable to leave -- for another city.

The move to Wichita, an urban center, represented a large change from the lonely flag station. Mr. Williams, not realizing this, tried to keep much of the same intimacy of primary group relationships as before. His hostility to the visits of the neighbors may have been the attempt to return family isolation. Stating it as nearly as possible in his own words:

"You know that a man wants to be alone with his folks some time. And I'd come home after my night shift, and find the neighbors in chinning with my wife. I finally told them, "If you want to visit with my wife, you've got to come when I'm not here."

The completeness of the locality shift, from New Mexico to Kansas, too, meant a complete break in old associations, ties of kinship as well as locality groups. Sources of social stimulation other than in face-to-face relations

which might have been available to a more educated family were lacking. Papers were thought of as "the bunk", and not worth the trouble.

The change of residence locality involved in the attempted adjustment to the crisis situation also brought an economic change. He had been unable to secure reinstatement in the railroad. If reinstatement had come the whole latter life trend might have been different. From economic security and regular work, Mr. Williams was thrown into economic insecurity, and irregular and uncertain work of the casual labor type. With the great number of short-term jobs given him by the employment service it is not surprising that the family deteriorated. A lapse of work meant temporary acceptance of dependency, and continued lapses intermittent dependency with the building up of attitudes expectant of relief. But the man did retain his work habits, in spite of frequent job change.

The forced change of work and doing of casual labor also meant a loss of status for an individual accustomed to work regularly and "bossing" of other men on the section. All these changes combined to increase his early unadjustment.

Excerpts from the record with its increasing requests for aid, the expectancy of relief, and the increasing slovenliness of the home (but perhaps due in part to the outside laundry work of the woman) indicate a social regression, possibly a re-

adjustment on a lower social level. Economic security was reestablished not by their own efforts as before leaving the south, but by partial reliance on the agency to supply needs which they were unable to meet.

The shifts in the ecologic area of their place residence, in Wichita, is equally significant of family deterioration. When the family first made their home in Wichita, they lived in a one-family house of six rooms in a "respectable" part of the city, populated, mainly, by families of the small salaried class and wage-earning group on a comfortable level of living.

They next moved to a smaller house, but this time in the better negro area of the city. Another move took them into a house of rather obsolescent condition located in an area popular among low-waged workers of the type sometimes characterized as "poor white trash".

Still another shift in location came after their summer transiency in 1927. Before leaving Wichita they had disposed of all their household furnishings. On return, they moved into a fifty-family apartment, their first experience in furnished rooms. The "apartments" were bad in physical construction, having practically no inner ventilation.

The location of the building was in an area of deterioration. The apartment house itself had a rather unsavory reputation, since the practice of prostitution in any apartment was condoned. The final move, up to the present time, was into the home of the wife's mother, also located in an area of deterioration.

For such a family transiency involved no more insecurity than they already possessed and it did add the chance for novel experiences and new stimulations of the road. The first transiency seems to have been in the nature of tourist travel at the expense of the brother. Later it gave the means of renewing family ties with Mr. William's parents. After the first trip transiency always took direction down to the south, where Mr. Williams' aged parents lived. The familial motive seemed to have been an important one in the movement, for by spending several weeks on the road and stopping as was necessary to work for a while, the family could return home with as much or more money in their pocket as when they left. In addition to this, they had some interesting experiences.

They made the trip secure in the belief that the social agency would supplement their income during the winter as in previous years, since their trips prevented any laying aside of earnings in the summer.

Mendicancy of Mrs. Williams and Enders

The mendicancy of Mrs. Williams, Rachel and baby, with

Mr. Enders is also a type of transiency but one involving a somewhat different explanation. The William's family in summer travels had adopted conventional means of support, largely that of casual labor. Unlike them, Enders and Mrs. Williams, utilized parasitic means of "getting by".

The steps in the sequence from a position of obedience to the social sanctions to unconventional behavior seems to have taken the following form, in part identical with the steps toward family transiency.

Family isolation socially sanctioned behavior.
Crisis.
Change of Residence.
Isolation.
Economic insecurity.
(Woman's aid in support).
Dependency.
Dependency attitude.
Family transiency.
Thwarted wishes.
(Opportunity for escape).
Transiency.
Anonymity.
Mendicancy.¹

The first steps in the development of mendicancy are carried over from the first statement since they give a somewhat different meaning to the mendicancy of the de-facto family. The changing of isolation into urban contact is accomplished by Mrs. Williams without the aid of the husband and somewhat at his opposition as is indicated by his atti-

1. Study of other cases of mendicancy may show the general sequence leading into mendicancy. Some revision would, of course, be necessary and be listed by further cases.

tude toward the visiting of the neighbors. The man's desire for response is apparently satisfied within his family group, while the woman's may not have been.

The woman's work with its monotonies in the continuous work as a laundress was at first relieved, at least in part, by family affection and later, by the escape possible in summer transiency. In the summer before she left it seemed that this escape was to be denied her. The family welfare society had forcibly stated that further aid would be withheld if they made another all-summer trip.

Naturally, then, any suggestion of Enders now back from the penitentiary would carry more appeal. The desire for escape formed an expelling force which was coupled with the pull of the excitements and variety of road experiences. Her previous life on the road and knowledge of the means of "getting by" together with Ender's prison experience soon supplied an elaborate scheme of getting by.

This was the more possible since life on the road implies a social release from social controls. The only controls left for her were in the subjective environment of attitudes and habits, the internalization of the customs and taboos of the group. The anonymity of the road soon weakened these. Conventional standards had already been lessened by dependency. With these elements contributing, adoption of mendicancy was made easy.

The General Process

The previous analysis has been made more in detail since it corresponds roughly with the general process leading toward transiency.

	(Social Process)	(Type of Movement)
Stage I	(Thwarting of Interests	
	(
	(Crisis	
	(
	(Severance of Locality Ties	
		Temporary Transiency
	(Road Crisis (compelling stop)	
	(
	(or	
	(
	(Locality Reattachment	
	(
	(Unadjustment	
	(
	(Minor Crisis	
Stage II	(
	((Unadjustments in New Localities	Series of
	(Moves
	(Isolation	
	(
	(Increased Work Incompetency	
	(
	(Transiency
	(
	("Wanderlust"(habit of transiency)	
	(resulting in)	
	Scheme of Life	
	a. Conventional	
	b. Unconventional	
	2. or	
	Disorganization.	

(Note:)

1. The method of arriving at the statement of general process has been as follows: Some forty life histories (out of one hundred cases) which gave data enough to infer cause or sequences, were grouped into type sequences; these were again recombined to give the general statement which follows.

Because of the lack of concepts adequate to give the meaning desired we have had to use old terms with slightly different interpretation. Therefore the process-summary can be understood only as interpreted in the statement following the summary.

Thwarting of interests may precede the crisis and be a part of it, or may follow it.

2. Variations due to differences in personality make-up or to minor changes in the process will be seen indicated on the rough diagram following the general discussion. The diagram suggesting possible alternatives to transiency is followed by a consideration of the major deviations.

Relation of Crisis to the Process

When some new element which the previous habits of life cannot solve enters the situation and old methods of adjustment will not disentangle, the life organization is upset. The flow of habit is disturbed. ^{1.} A crisis (in the sense of "disturbance of habit") has arrived. The individual or family is compelled, then, to find new methods to meet the crisis situation. There are several alternatives: they may extricate themselves from the situation causing the disturbance; they may modify the elements in the situation preventing the functioning of the old life habits; or they may modify old manners of doing into a scheme of life adapted to the altered ^{2.} situation.

The crises may be sudden and cataclysmic as with the Williams family or they may be gradual and cumulative. Of the sudden crises found, some of these forming an initial stage of nomadism were residual in the material or social environment and beyond the control of the individual. Of this sort was the new circumstance with the K. family:

Mr. K. (61), Mrs. K. (43) and six children, three to eighteen years in age, were tenant farmers living in Missouri before the beginning of their travels.

In the spring of 1927 a flood swept away all their crops, and most of their other meager possessions. They

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1. See Thomas, Social Origins, Introduction; Cavan, "Suicide Process", Suicide; Queen, Chap. 29, Social Pathology.
 2. The concept of "crisis" is here used to cover both the external precipitating situation and the inward psychological crisis. The term "precipitating situation" is applied only to the events in the external situation.

sold what furniture they had left from the flood, invested the returns in a car, and started for Denver, hoping to find work there. (Case B-O-KC.)

Their difficulty grew out of the operation of natural forces. More frequently, however, they develop out of the social environment. The precipitating situation is often that of unemployment due to lulls within the industry or to personal incompetency. When savings are depleted and no work found a crisis results, demanding immediate activity. The history of the W family is illustrative:

Mr. Windsor, and his Spanish wife reported at the office of the family Welfare Society, Kansas City, asking food and aid on car expenses. They were stranded on their way through by car from Chicago. With them was their own baby of eight months and an adopted child of eighteen months.

For two years they had been employed at Chicago. Mr. W. held a job as union carpenter in the city's employ, but work was highly seasonal and irregular. They had little savings because of intermittency of work and their spendthrift habits when funds were at hand. Debts soon began to accumulate. The family was forced to give up their home to meet the mortgage. Their furniture, bought on the installment plan, was also taken away, and the family forced to move into cheap furnished rooms. This period marked their first contact with the United Charities of the city.

Hoping to secure work from a cousin who did contractor work in Arizona, the family bought a car on time from General Motors and started southward. They had been on the road apparently about three months, at the time they were stranded in Kansas City.

The mixing of races in the marriage, perhaps either involving or symbolizing the loss of status, the period of war service, the habit of short-sighted planning when they had employment,

1. See under Type A, Chapter II.

doubtless all contributed; but without the cumulative, economic crisis, transiency would probably not have resulted.

Service in the army during the World War constitutes another type of crisis involving disturbance of habits and their reorganization. Active service at the front with its emotional shocks, built-up nervous tensions, and extreme fatigues took its toll in functional disorders, psycho-neuroses and other personality disorders.^{1.} Since the group studied was largely of middle age a considerable proportion of the men would normally have been subject to call during the draft. As a matter of fact, about a fourth of the men were known to have served in the army. But the scantiness of life history on the pre-war period among those families where the man was an ex-service man prevent any conclusions as to the influence of the war in precipitating beginning transiency. It seems altogether possible that the strains and stresses of war-time and the passing on of responsibility for action to a superior which were so disintegrating to personal organization and stability might have found expression in transiency.

The following summary shows an indirect result of the war. The veteran's war injury and the easy compensation it won for him from the government led him to adopt mendicancy and a "country-owes-me-a-living" attitude.

1. See Rossy and Ihermittee, War Neuroses. University of London Press, 1918.

The family consisting of father, mother and three small children, ages 3 years, 2 years, and 4 months, arrived in an Arizona city, driving up in a dilapidated Ford. They immediately applied to the Red Cross chapter for a loan on groceries. He was receiving \$100.00 per month compensation, but the costs of traveling from California to Arizona to enter the hospital there had depleted his funds. He claimed that he had never before borrowed from the Red Cross.

Later information and continued contacts with the family convinced the chapter that they were habitual beggars, accustomed to asking and receiving assistance. They had now reached the point where they practically demanded support. Before this time the K's had been at Houston, and El Paso, Texas, and Palo Alto and San Jose, California, and had borrowed from the Red Cross in each place. (Case A. 49. RC.)

Discovery of a physical weakness -- or the aggravation of a disease already there -- is a crisis of the type resulting from forces partially within the control of the individual. The affect of a diagnosis of serious bodily disorder, in this case a mistaken one, is shown with the Y. family:

The Y. family were comfortably located on a farm in Missouri, previous to transiency in pursuit of health.

Suspicion of an incipient health problem sent Mr. Y. to the doctor for a diagnosis. The verdict was "incipient T.B."

In desperation, the family took immediate action. The farm and household belongings were sold at a loss, and the family started on a road career. They hoped by change of climate, to help Mr. Y. throw off the disease.

Later examination showed the diagnosis to have been a mistaken one, and the family, upon the advice of a social agency, returned to their former residence.

This type of crisis is one particularly favorable to place detachment because of the belief of the laymen -- usually mistaken -- in the magic potency of change of climate toward cure.

Other crises are of the cumulative type. Mrs. William's mendicancy seems to have involved a crisis of this type when dissatisfactions were brewed out of job monotonies and family tensions. Three of our most complete records are of separated families. Tensions in the home have impelled one of the parents to "hit the road", taking the children with him -- or her. (In two of these the fleeing parent was the wife). But, unlike the hobo, the person deserting the home has taken all or some of the children along with him.

The crisis bringing disturbance of habit, requiring readjustments must be broadly defined so as to include, in addition, purposive changes. With the subsequent families the change of life habits was more in the place detachment than in a trouble situation.

Mr. D., a prosperous rancher in eastern Colorado, sold his ranch in time of boom prices and bought a Buick. Then began a long period of tourist travel which continued long after his funds were depleted, a seven year period in all.

At the time they asked aid from the agency reporting them, there were three girls, thirteen, eleven, and seven years of age, children who were receiving no schooling.

When the family had to raise some cash, or stop traveling, the mother would nurse, the father peddle, and the other girl hire out. When they could gather enough money they would continue on again.

For another family the decision to emigrate from England to America was the starting point for a period of transiency lasting over several years. The entrance into a new country where they had no associations made it easy to accept

in the anonymity of the road.

Community attitudes over a violation of the mores may constitute the expelling force from the community. This seemed to have caused Mr. P. to leave his city.

Mr. and Mrs. P. and three children; came into a Minnesota family welfare agency asking a loan on their government insurance policy or other relief. The family was stranded in the city on their trip south with Mr. K. in his car.

Finding that the men had no job in sight nor any city of destination, the agency persuaded them to return to Flint, Michigan, their legal residence, where they had a surer chance for work and friends who could aid them. The agency held the car pending sale, and returned the families by train, charity rate.

A letter written a month later from Mrs. K., who had remained in the city, disclosed that Mr. K. had returned, but that the P's had left the train before reaching Flint. Mr. P. had feared to return because of a previous affair there with a married woman.

With some of the families, limited associations -- if not more extreme isolation -- seem to have preceded the first detachment from the community. The basis of this inference is in the response given by the families when the case workers ask for references to aid in forming a case plan. Frequently, the families leave rather than to give references and former addresses asked by the larger agencies. In other cases false street addresses are given, or addresses which cannot be checked. Those who do give references readily are either of the "mobile dependent type", or of the temporary "legitimate" transient.

This reluctance may be due to shame over having friends learn of their need. That in itself may contribute to their

social detachment. It would seem at least, that either limited associations and broken kinship ties preceded transiency for these or that transiency has produced them or is likely to produce them. This solitariness does commonly exist and is an important condition in the continuation of mobility.

As we have attempted to indicate in the preliminary summary of the developmental sequence a thwarting of interests or desires usually comes, which sometimes follows the crisis or sometimes precedes it. Where the obstructed impulse preceded the exciting event the crisis might be thought of as the highest point of tension.

In sub-type A of the process discussed in the following chapter the frustration has centered about the need for subsistence and a measure of security. Predisposing factors in the personality make-up or the external, economic organization have menaced this interest. And the poverty level of living has prevented the acquisition of status or meant its loss if already attained.

In another variation of the generalized sequence the repressions came in childhood or adolescence. In the third variation, the incompatibility (present or past) of desires with opportunities for their attainment has made the mind an arena for inner conflict which cannot seem to be resolved. Cert

Certainly, the fact of a trouble situation does not lead, necessarily, to the severance of locality ties for tempor-

ary transiency. If there is faulty adjustment, balked desires may result in one of a variety of the so-called pathological kinds of behavior, as suicide, delinquency, prostitution. The crisis, as we have suggested, might be resolved by reorganization of habits into a modified scheme of life to meet the new situation. Or the family may attempt to alter the situation so that the old adjustments may work, or may change the locality and the situation.

Transient families have attempted the third means of meeting the crisis, removal into a new situation. Here they hope to make an easier adjustment to the disturbing circumstance. This may come through finding a complex of circumstances like the old before the injection of the perplexing element. Or, if the crisis be of the cumulative sort, the purpose may be to find a more satisfactory fulfillment of basic economic or social wants not entirely met in the old location.

Locality Change

Whether the type of adjustment should occur or not depends, first, on the character of the exciting cause or crisis; second, on the nature of the predisposing factors in the experience of the parent accustomed to make the vital family decisions, his personality make-up, and his scheme of life (particularly his way of meeting difficulties); and, third, the habits and attitudes of the more passive parent toward the dominant

member and her desires on the alternative choices; and, fourth, the relatively unchanging, social factors pending to limit or facilitate certain sorts of adjustment.

The precipitating event is important both in itself and equally important for the attitudes which the parents hold toward it, and the attitudes and expectations of procedure which they think the community holds toward them in that condition.

This is illustrated, particularly, in a crisis originating in a health ailment. Difficulties of this type lead to place detachment and travel, not because travel will restore to health, but because the current belief is the efficacy of travel toward recovery. An social attitude largely invalid, scientifically, is here the important influence.

Where the crisis does involve injury to the family's status in the community it expedites a shift in locality position. Again, if the exciting event involves the loss of economic security with no immediate prospect of betterment in the residence-city a change of city is a logical procedure.

In other instances, movement is a surrender to the impulse to run away from an unpleasant or difficult-to-solve situation. In two records an accumulation of debts following a period of employment appeared to lead to transiency of this sort. This is a type of accommodation by avoidance.

Primarily, then, in the first stage of roaming the chance of residence is the adjustment planned; a period of movement transiency is, however, involved in making the place-change.

Another determining influence helping to decide the type of adjustment to the crisis situation are the "pulls" in some distant environment. These accentuate the "pushes" or unsatisfactory conditions in the adjacent environment.

With the William's family the impelling forces of familial ties were as important toward transiency as the expelling elements. The locality change by the H. family was also due primarily to this:

Mr. H. and family reported for aid at a Kansas City family welfare society saying that they were stranded on a return trip from the south.

Before their trip south the family were living quite comfortably on a farm in Arkansas.

The wife's sister continually wrote them urging them to come to Dallas. She painted in glowing terms the wonderful opportunities there.

Finally, rather against their own better judgment they sold their belongings and drove south, only to find the sister in worse circumstances than themselves, with her husband out of work and her family in need. The brother-in-law deserted soon after, leaving the burden of his own family responsibilities upon Mr. H.

After some weeks of unemployment the family decided that their best plan was to return to north to their old home. It was on this return trip that they became stranded.

The "pious hopes" of chambers of commerce, realtors, and enthusiastic residents of boom areas are frequently expressed in flamboyant promises of cheap land and in easy life. Our records show numerous instances where these statements have contri-

buted to disatisfactions with local conditions. Then only a slight exigency is required for the family to cut its final locality ties for the luring foreign environment. Social work organizations in Florida, California, Oregon and other states report the toll in disheartened, homeless, friendless, and jobless families. These either become dependent or start back to their old home without funds for the trip or resources when they do arrive. General social trends, then, facilitate the first entrance into transiency. In the United States there has been an increasing mobility of th person and a growing mobility of the abode displayed in frequent change of residence. Social bonds based on locality are breaking down. Mobility has become a part of the mores until, now, as many families own cars as own telephones. A third of America is estimated by the National AAA, to annually "hit the road" in tourist travel.

With the severance of locality ties symbolized in some simple act as the selling of furniture, farm, or the taking the children out of school begins temporary transiency and with it a brief period of homelessness. Some of these households plan as did the Williams to return after two or three months of movement.

In the general process, then, at the beginning of transiency, the family apparently purposes movement to change place of habitation. Their purpose may have been expressed in terms of a

job, health or what not. Stated more broadly, they are seeking an environment promising to better satisfy basic wants and interests disturbed by the crisis or an environment in which former life habits can again operate. They desire relationships more in keeping with the status which they conceive as belonging to themselves.

Having "hit the road" several circumstances may enter in tending to postpone the setting up of a new residence. There may be a piece of misfortune on the road, a sudden health problem, the wife's pregnancy, a car breakdown, an accident, a depletion of funds or even the wearing out of a tire when the scanty family resources cannot replace them. Here may come an initial contact with the relief-giving agencies of the community or a re-establishment of them. With it comes the knowledge that there are sources of aid along the road which can be tapped if trouble comes. Agencies report dozens of appeals of this type occasioned by such a "road crisis".

Families frequently stop to earn expenses of living and of travel, since, unlike the tourist, they start out with little or no stake. The important thing is this: they have discovered the "hazards of the road to be more fictitious than real. If one is willing to work occasionally or is not reluctant about asking community aid. If he does attempt to reestablish himself in the city to which he has planned to go or one which seems to supply possible satisfaction to basic interests and desires, other circumstances may hinder reconstruction of ties based on

locality. His first tie, necessarily, to the community is an economic one, unless he has friends already there. But in a new city, without knowledge of its resources or friends to aid, it is difficult to find satisfactory employment. If this is not desirably established, there is always the road and other cities ahead, and a method available that will supply the essentials for subsistence as well as gas and oil necessary to continue.

Also, he may find it difficult to form new social relationships which give him the feeling of "being somebody". If this isolation is continued, the job is the only bond holding him to the community.

The forces stabilizing the person in a community are not solely economic ones or reasoned-out affairs, but emotional bonds of traditions and sentiments, common memories built about objects or persons in that environment. There is the systematization of habits about these objects and persons in the environment and the feeling of common possession of these. Personal relations, individual to individual and individual to group, also bind the family to the community. A person moving into a new city does not have these. Unless there is a pull of a good job, or a condition that promises the building up of new associations giving status, it will be "off for the road again". But if he does find satisfaction for his social and economic wants, his period of transiency will probably be ended.

On the other hand if there is the slightest of precipitating events the family may be driven out of this first locality attachment. A second stage of transiency then begins where the purposes of movement are a little less sharply defined and the direction less sure.

A series of moves may then follow unless a satisfactory adjustment comes in a new locality. Each time it becomes easier to "lower the threshold" for further movement. The motives for movement finally reach an equilibrium with those for place-stability or over-balance them. Habit is left the determining force.

The process is, by no means, as simple as this explanation might infer. As indicated in the steps in the process there is set up by the constant moving about an increased work incompetency. It is more difficult to get a job in new localities. The semi-skilled or skilled individual may be forced into casual labor, losing him his skill in the more difficult tasks. He becomes entangled in irregular habits and inefficiencies. First, the worker drifts, and then he cannot

1.
anchor. Work incompetency due both to the restlessness caused by transiency when placed in a continuous job and to the breakdown of work habits and work efficiency represents the economic side of his unadjustments in the community and the functional side of this isolation. He has no greater security, if as much

1. Lescohier, Don, The Labor Market, p. 115.

as in a definite community than he has by traveling .

The economic factor of increasing inefficiency begins operating to effect relationships and attitudes growing out of repeated relationships and habits, and to destroy sense of personal worth. These attitudes and relationships tend toward locality release. He gets the feeling common to the casual laborer that society doesn't "give a hang about him". Location seems to be prerequisite to the performance of socially valued functions in society. Considered from the standpoint of the community his isolation is a social actuality forming a very real and continuous element in the process to explain place-instability. He is detached both by virtue of his own transiency and by the character of the interaction which does exist.

His transiency bars him from any social relationships with the community which demands a continued spatial contiguity. The attitudes of the man-on-the-street toward the homeless, particularly the traveler, are slightly tinged with envy at his freedom, but envy highly flavored with contempt. Contact is at a social distance. Current social attitudes, then, segregate him from the groups having location, and make him welcome the camaraderie of other transient families. There is the "folksy" feeling of the strong, primary group where he does have these contacts.

If he is occasionally -- or continually -- dependent the superordination-subordination relationship with settled people is accentuated by corresponding attitudes of pity-interiority. If the family has adopted begging or other types of mendicancy it

further becomes isolated because of an asocial scheme of life.

Thru some such steps as these transiency develops as a state of mind as well as a condition of physical movement, or to use a much abused term, the "wanderlust". In the psychological side the "wanderlust" is habituation to a mobile life. Life has been routinized on the basis of movement until without constant new stimulations the family becomes restless and dissatisfied. Their restlessness in its psychological elements^{1.} is due, primarily, to the denied operation of habits. They miss also the excitements and varities of the open road. Nomads of the pavement describe it in some such words as these when you ask them why they keep on the road:

"I don't know just why it is, guess it is kinda born in you. But in the spring or after a while in one place you've just got to be amovin'. It gets hold of you some way, and you just can't stay still, but you've got to be on your way; anywhere -- but you've got to be amovin'.

1. See Woodworth, Dynamic Psychology, chapter on "Habit".

CHAPTER III

Major Variations in the Process

The diagram on the succeeding page attempts to depict, roughly, significant variations in the developmental sequence and a few of the possible alternatives to transiency.

Sub-Type A.

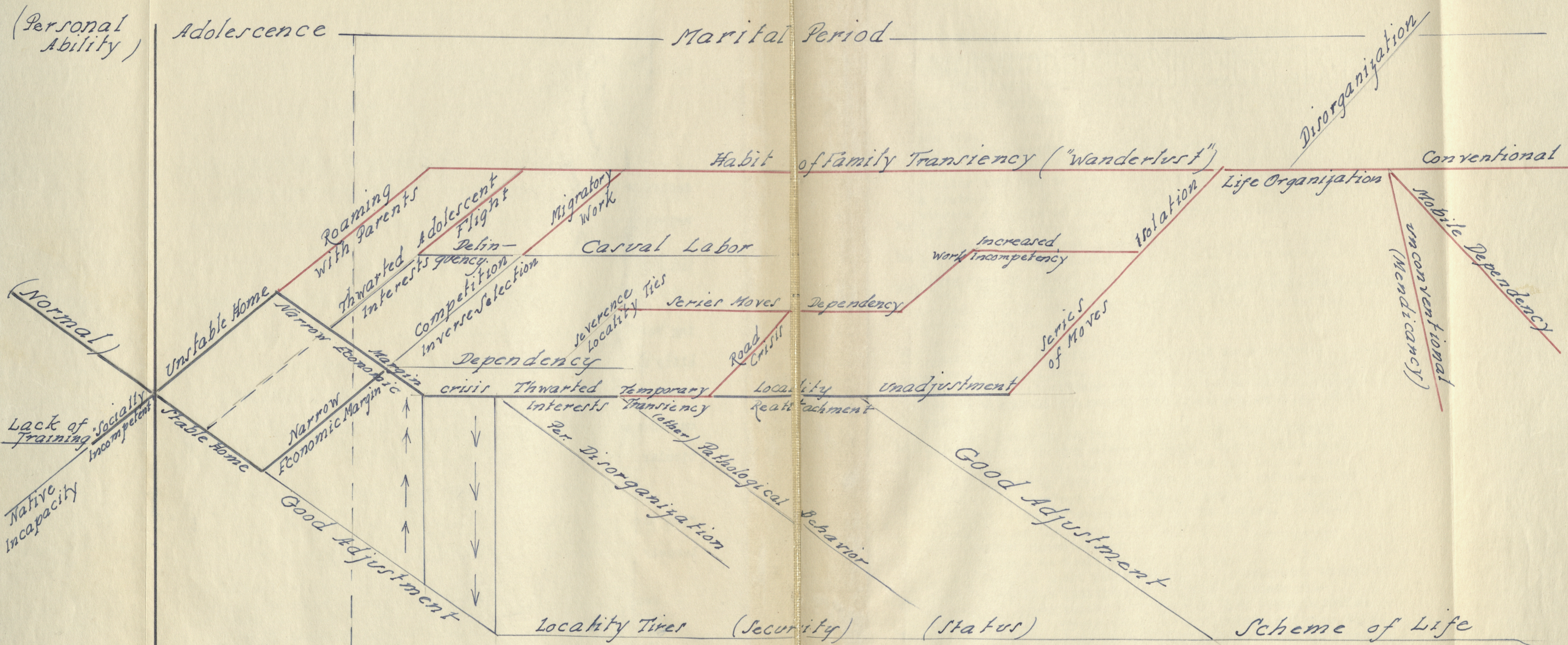
Many deviations come within the general trend leading toward transiency -- variations due to different personality makeup, or different situational circumstance. Subtypes in the causal sequence may also be in the precedence of one element over another or in degrees of importance of a particular factor.

The Wooster case which follows gives in abbreviated form the history of a family whose frequent moves were due largely to inability to cope with the complexities of life:

Mr. Wooster (52), Mrs. Wooster (43) and five children, ranging from thirteen years to seven years of age, arrived in Union Station, Kansas City, penniless. They had no money for food, rent or baggage charges. When they reported to the Travelers Aid at the station they were referred to the United Charities for relief.

Mr. Wooster was a small, stoop-shouldered, shuffling-gaited man with a rather heavy beard and mustache. His eyes seemed odd and stared steadily at one. His speech was slow and hesitating. His wife was a rather large, bony woman, with very black hair, faded blue eyes and protruding teeth. Both were very shabbily dressed, as were their children, with shoes almost gone, and clothes in tatters.

DIAGRAM of PROCESS



Lines in **red** indicate
a state of movement.

Lines in **blue** indicate
lack of movement or stability

In the case report given nothing of the man's family background was given. Mrs. Wooster was one of several teachers all of very meager schooling.

The family were homesteaders in Minnesota until two years previous. The land proved almost worthless except for grazing. They could not afford to secure the stock to use it for grazing land. After this failure at homesteading he packed his family into the tonneau of an old Ford and started traveling. In a trailer attached to the car he carried along a pig and a crate or two of chickens. Thus equipped the Woosters started a period of frequent changes of locality lasting at least three years.

One of the first stops was in A____, Kansas, with his wife's brother-in-law, who soon invited them to leave when it seemed that they intended an indefinite stay. Next, they went to M____, Missouri, where they stayed from November 1925 until May, 1926. He was employed there as a wood chopper. Following his stay there, the family spent short periods in half a dozen other small Missourian towns employed at day-by-day or week-by-week jobs. In each of these towns, churches and pitying individuals became interested in the family and supplemented his meager and irregular earnings with relief.

Mr. Wooster, in fact, carried with him a little book of which he was somewhat proud, giving the names of individuals and institutions which had helped him. Somewhere during these moves the pig, and chickens, the trailer and the Ford with which he started disappeared, probably to supply necessities of the larder. Another attempt to settle upon the relatives at H.V. _____ was equally unsuccessful.

Previous to their arrival in Kansas City, the family spent a short period at L____, Colorado, where some "benevolent individuals" learned of their disheartening experiences, and supplied them transportation to Kansas City. Their plan, when stranded at Kansas City, was to go to Nebraska where they had heard that work was available at corn-husking. They had no definite destination.

A summary of problems of the family gives the following:

Health: prostratic enlargement and nocturia. Unable to do heavier type of tasks.

Mental: children feeble-minded (suspected)

Educational: children had little schooling, and parents still less.

Habits and Behavior: M willing to work, honest, unstable, mentally inert; family nomadic, expectant of relief.

Social: isolated family; adjusted on dependency level.

Economic: Borderline dependency; able to be self-supporting only in most simplified working environment.

Analysis

The trouble situation which first severed the locality ties of the Woosters appears from the life history available to have been the failure of the homestead venture. Then, apparently, began a period of intermittent transiency with short stays in a number of small Missouri towns, living as a farm casual-laborer.

The the analysis of problems above and the comparison of the Wooster case with others of this general type suggests that the failure to earn a living at homesteading only marked the precipitating situation which other predisposing factors had made almost inevitable.

Mr. Wooster and his family are of a type we have termed the "socially inadequate" using the term "social" in its larger sense. The feeble-minded children in the family indicate a native weakness in the stock, some native inadequacy which lack of training has made more prominent. As a "marginal" worker on "marginal" land his failure was almost inevitable. He has been caught in the process of competition without the native resources with which to compete.

This competition leads to an inverse selection, forcing him into marginal land, and later, into the more menial farm labor. He is forced to live on a bare subsistence level except as aided by the benevolence of others. Dependency has been his

solution for economic insecurity.

With the final motive for place-stability removed with the failure of the farm venture the period of place-instability with transiency begins on a dependency level.

The economic process of competition and inverse selection followed by dependency has its social significance in the isolation which accompanies it and which is increased by his movement. His isolation did not consist primarily in the absence of contacts, although this did occur. The refusal of relatives to take the family and support it marked a growing isolation from the kinship group.

Rather, the family seems to have a number of contacts but those with persons as individuals furnishing aid or as representatives of relief-furnishing sources. He had contacts but at a social distance. His need furnished, probably, the opportunity for emotional satisfactions to the givers and gave them self-satisfaction over their own "kindheartedness".

Frequently, with such giving, there is condescension and a little contempt mixed in with the sympathy. The one receiving by the act of receiving is forced into the position of an inferior since the support received is not as a result of his own efforts. If there is continued relief giving by the same person or group with the return the social distance may be heightened. There is not the same emotional satisfaction to

the giver after the first gush of sympathy, and the family-naturally enough regresses an attitude of expectant dependency^{1.} very much like the dependency of an infant on its parent.

Once on the road the family simply continued their dependency. To limited ability in meeting the complexities of life they added the attitude of unwillingness to attempt any solution. As their constant moving about continued they acquired the habit of nomadism on a dependency basis.

With the Woosters and many others like them on the road the sequence seems to start from social inadequacies or personality conditions making them unable to cope with the social environment in which they are placed, through:

Competition
Inverse Selection
Dependency
Isolation
Crisis
Severance of locality ties
Series of Moves with Continued Isolation
Unadjustments
Increased work
Incompetency
Wanderlust
Transiency
Scheme of life on basis of social irresponsibility

Of the nineteen families classed under this heading^{3.} at least four seemed to have some mental lack more or less serious. Five had long-standing troubles of ill-health, including

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1. This kind of regression is more a social attitude than abnormal mental state described the psychologists regression.
 2. We have used the term "social inadequacy" to cover any lack, native, or acquired to prevent the filling of a functional place in the environment in which one happens to be living. By functional place we mean both filling a job which will normally support himself and family, and the social participation in groups. We recognize that this is a term highly relative to the job environment in which he is placed and the kind of economic system under which we are living.
 3. Suspected rather than diagnosed.

tuberculosis, ulcerated stomach and other ailments which particularly made for work incompetency of long duration. Few if any of this sort had more than the most elemental of education, frequently having stopped in the third or fourth grade or even earlier. The same could be said of a considerable number of other transients.

Transiency for this class is an evidency of previous personal economic and social maladjustments. Doubtless, many of those "roading" who might be considered as "socially incompetent" experienced dependency before leaving their last, permanent residence. Ten case-work agencies answered the inquiry on the questionnaire, asking their estimate on the percentage having secured aid before temporary dependency "hitting the road". Their estimates veered from 100% to 25%. Only three estimated 50% or below. Two estimated 75%, one 80%, two 90%, one 95% and one 100%. While these are frankly estimates the case-worker has some ground for judgment in the references given by the prospective client. Transiency is, in itself, an economic adjustment, and an attempt to artificially simplify their environment or to solve its difficulties by evasion.

It represents economic common-sense for them since expenses of living are less on the road or are taken care of by others. Too, conditions of living for those living in the city on the bare-subsistence level are less satisfactory than the out-of-door life of the road.

1. See Questionnaire form in Appendix.

Inner Conflicts

Another class are on the food for a somewhat different reason. The K family is illustrative:

Mrs. K. drove up to the United Charities in Topeka asking temporary shelter for herself and four children. It was then in the dead of winter. Mrs. K. appeared very much troubled. She said she was a lecturer for social reform and against the white slave traffic and was making a number of towns each night, on a lecture tour. Each night she spoke in a different town. The receipts of the collection plates were her means of support. Later she planned to swing on west in her lecture tour, and eventually rejoin her husband in Wyoming.

Mrs. K. was a tall, slender woman about forty years of age. She was wearing an ancient black dress and over it an old, gray sweater darned in many places. The children were eleven to five in age, scantily attired to be protected from the winter cold. The family was in an open Ford. Mrs. K. seemed not at all concerned over the discomforts for the children caused by her traveling about. She said that it was not necessary that her children be enrolled regularly in school, since she had been a school teacher herself, and could teach them.

Later she told an incoherent story of persecutions in the Oklahoma normal school to which she had gone, persecutions that had been so violent, she claimed, that she had been denied her degree. Her life history gained from letters written to the family welfare society by her invalid husband in Wyoming and from other scattered sources of information seems to be as given below:

Mrs. K. was raised in a home where there was considerable affection between the several brothers and sisters of the family. The father cared very much for the children. He had, however, a temper quick to flare up over some episode, but which cooled down as rapidly. He was not interested at all in religion. According to Mrs. K's assertion he was an atheist.

Lulu, (Mrs. K.) developed in the home interests which she pursued most passionately, education and probably later, religion. One overwhelming desire was to become a school teacher or lecturer. Nothing more is known of her early childhood adolescence except reference to an injury received while horsebackriding in Colorado. Her back was hurt and a kidney torn loose, forcing a considerable stay in Pueblo hospital. (Nothing more is known from this time till the time when she was twenty-five years of

age. Some significant data then may be omitted.)

In 1914 she went to Wyoming to teach in a small, grade school (probably a small country school) on the temporary teaching certificate which she had secured presumably, from her high school teacher training course.

Mr. K. writes concerning this period:

"....She told me the folks treated her mean. In 1914 when she came to Wyoming I pitied her. I was alone in the state and had a small ranch. Was suffering with my spine. I thought my time was near at hand and pitied and married the abused. She soon became dissatisfied, also disagreeable. She cost me about \$3,000 dollars from 1918 to 1920....." (3)

After the marriage to the semi-invalid rancher, they left to a homestead in Oregon much against Mrs. K's will. Here Mr. K. had a route as rural mail carrier. Much of the chores fell to Mrs. K's lot because of his invalidism. Here she was denied the opportunity to teach, both by the opposition of her husband and by the expiration of her certificate. Her zeal for reform may have cropped out in family affairs. Her husband writes:

"I gave up the use of tobacco that I might have more for the family and set a better example before the little ones. That affected my mental abilities somewhat, and hindered me after I got there to L _____ G _____, Oregon."

Mrs. Kenwood then planned to go to D _____, Oregon to take the teacher's examination for a permanent certificate. In Mr. K's words:

"She went to the D _____ to take the examination and I endorsed a check for her on my account for \$100.00 dollars and told her to buy herself a pair of over-shoes the first thing. She failed in the exams." to

In the story as Mrs. Kenwood told it/the Topeka Charities she went to take the examinations, but on the way from the station slipped and fell on the icy pavement, falling with serious injury to her spine. She said that she spent some months in the hospital at D _____. (An inquiry to the hospital brought the reply that no woman of that name had ever been there). She returned home to her husband with the same story, and threatened to bring suit against the city for her injury. Mr. Kenwood writes:

"She did something with 700 dollars at D _____. I sometimes think maybe she sent it to her sister, maybe she gave it to _____ (record unreadable) at the hospital at the d _____ I don't know....."

After the failure at the examination according to her husband, she came home and brooded and "conceived some sort of idea". Then her sister wrote her from Oklahoma offering her assistance and a home if she wanted to continue her education at the normal school. She decided to

accept, and made plans to return to Oklahoma, taking some of the children with her. In her husband's letter he states:

".....! she left me with the three boys, 8 horses, one cow, among strangers, no one to go to, no one to come to see how I was faring.... I begged her to stay but she would not."

It was here in A_____, Oklahoma or so Mrs. K. asserted that she received the most unfair treatment. A letter of inquiry to the president of the normal secured the information that she has been thought "queer" and eccentric. It would seem that the woman, odd in attire and eccentric in ideas, was laughed at whenever she attempted to make a recitation. With her personality limitations and long period out of school she was just able to pass in her classes. The care of her children further handicapped her. Part of the time she was in school she lived on bread and water, though her sister stood ready to further assist her. Mr. K. is now very bitter against her sister.

After several months (possibly a year and a half) of school she added to her unpopularity by denouncing the school authorities as incompetents, immoral and otherwise unfit for the job.

From this period at school Mrs. Kenwood attempted to take up "social reform" lecturing, and wrote east to ally herself with a social-reform league of the more fanatical type. After securing literature and posters from them she started on this tour delivering lectures. (1) It was on this trip that she applied for shelter, at the Topeka Charities.

The agencies first plan was to return her to either her own family in Oklahoma or to her husband in Oregon. Both were willing to give her a home. She flatly refused to do either of these when first proposed. Later they succeeded in persuading her to go to her sister and parents in Oklahoma.

Following a short stay with her parent she again left on another trip of transiency. The final entry in the record of the agency came several months later in a note from another agency in Oklahoma. In the letter was an item in the locals of a small rural paper: "A Cross and Crown Mission has been started on a forty-acre farm seven miles southwest of Cherokee, Oklahoma. A Poultry-Farm, Canning and Rug Making are among the industries established. The aim of the mission is to help the worthy poor, established and under the management of Mrs. K_____".

1. Her lectures when read were full of incoherencies, repetitions and overstatements.

The thwarting of Mrs. K's overwhelming passion for education and the prestige and social status which these implied for her seems to be the key to an understanding of her case. Although one wishes that the record of childhood were more complete, the repeated frustration of this desire seems to supply the key to understanding of her case.

The marriage to an illiterate rancher meant response and recognition for her but of a different trend than she sought. She also found that it meant the discarding of her earlier inclination, now almost an obsession, for teaching.

Her failure at the state examination was an extreme crisis in her life. Apparently her whole life organization centered about this desire, was to be discomfited. Out of this probably developed her story of the fall at D____, Wyoming as a protective device to shield her pride.

The chance for an education in Oklahoma meant one more opportunity to achieve her ambition. But this again resulted in bafflement. In this succession of crises probably was the origin of her paranoid attitudes.

Religion seemed to offer a possible compensation for failure to attain this status, which she felt had been unfairly denied her.

Still Mrs. K. was determined to obtain her wish to become a teacher or a lecturer. As a traveling, reform lecturer of the more fanatical type she could exhort others and cover up

her own inner conflicts. It meant the long-denied prestige. Transiency was simply a way of satisfying this interest. Her final adjustment, the task of matron for a school for the "worthy poor" may at last give her the sense of personal worth she sought.

The serial elements in the cases where balked desires and resulting inner conflicts represent the most important factor can be stated in the same sequences as the general statement of process but with the balked desires built into a cumulative crisis.

An interesting variation of this group of cases were four cases where the thwarting of real or imagined interests occurred in childhood and initiated an adolescent flight. The Jordan pair, roaders of forty-five years duration were of this type:

Mr. Jordan, now an aged, long-bearded man, who would be patriarchal in appearance if not for his filthy attire, began his transiency at eight years. He boarded a C.B. and Q. freight headed west to a land of buffaloes and Indians. He has been roaming ever since by horse and covered wagon. For a short time they used a combination Ford and "wagon top", with his wife, equally ancient and unkempt in appearance driving the car and he the wagon. (Case B-37 Sq.)

We have no means of knowing the specific causes for these adolescent wanderings in our own cases. These roamings of childhood are by no means unique. Injured feelings, reaction against restraints and authority, domineering attitudes of parents,

their unwillingness to gratify childhood desires of different levels of importance, the conflicting conceptions by parent^{1.} and child of the child's role -- all these are possible.

Sub-Type C.

"Red" Windsor was born under the dirt-stained canvass of a schooner lurching over the open prairie, some forty years ago. He has traveled ever since. Anything, anywhere, he is ready for a trade, with horses his specialty.

After roaming for some time, he married a girl of a family more settled than his own. They "hit the blinds" together for a while, then took to a horse-pulled wagon top. Both "Red" and his wife have had serious health difficulties at different times. His wife claims that Red is unable to do any steady work.

With their nine year old youngster they have spent the winter (1928-29) and spring in a "top" in Squatter-town near W____, Kansas, living in an 8 x 5 x 6 box arrair of a room set on the ground. From this as headquarters they go out on their wagon journeys traveling within a radius of about fifty miles of Wichita and returning there each year to winter.

In these life histories adult, family transiency is merely the acceptance by a family of a life pattern projected out of and beyond the childhood experience of one of the parents.

A number of other, nomadic families seem to be of this type; exactly how many or what percentage is not known. In their cases the process leading into transiency has been passed through already, by the parents. Their childhood is spent in an environment where transiency is assumed as a conventional procedure. The process has been telescoped into their "social heredity" and the habit of transiency developed in them as naturally as as place-stability in other children.

1. See Hollingsworth, Lela S. Psychology of the Adolescent, Chapter III.

Transiency as we have pointed out is not the same as mobility about a fixed point. For those beginning a nomadic life it involves:

1. A change from the known and sure to the unknown and doubtful.
2. A severing of community relationships.
3. A suspension of permanent residence.
4. (Frequently) A suspension of work function (or work only as a casual laborer)
5. A novel mode of living.
6. Isolation from secondary group contacts including ----
7. Acceptance of an environment largely hostile to migratory groups.

Such changes (though changes gradually being lessened by changes in culture) require modifications in patterns of life organization over those in a more constant environment. Other wise maladjustments will occur, if not personal disorganization.

Transiency and Personal Organization

With any of the types described, the process is not wholly complete psychologically, until the family has rationalized its transiency and schematized its behavior. Otherwise personal disorganization will result.

Stories told by the migratory group to the relief-giving officials or institutions represent, in main, protective philosophies. Familiar reasons offered for their nomadism include: search for work, ill-health, lack of education, a personal defect as blindness, war-injury, and desire to rejoin their family or to find their former residence.

Other stories are largely compensatory reactions which

may or may not have their origin in reality. Some blame their movement on some combination of external circumstance. Others, as Mrs. Kenwood, in the case illustrative of variation B process, personalize the cause, blaming it on relatives, friends or others.

Some are the most flimsy of excuses. One elderly woman explained her trip from Wichita, Kansas, to Salina, sixty miles away, where she was camping, by her supposed need for a change in climate. Salina just suited her, she claimed.

Such stories, frequently with their origin in fact, are as often garbled statements, devices to shield from social disapproval and to prevent the acceptance of personal inferiority. A dramatic story, has also a direct financial value, which adds incentive for its use.

In terms of life-organization the result may be

1. A reorganized scheme of life on:
 - a. Conventional pattern -- or --
 - b. Unconventional

or
2. Personal disorganization in:
 - a. Pathological mental adjustment or
 - b. Absence of scheme of life and confusion and instability.

The migratory worker, the peddler, the family who stops to work to build up a stake, then moves on till money gives out, are typical of the more conventional molds in which a life-scheme may be cast.

A less conventional accommodation is described under Type A of the general process as has been indicated. It is a social regression in which the family enjoys again the dependency and security of childhood. The family transfers the attitude of

dependence common to childhood to persons or an institution which will accept the responsibility for satisfying its wants and shielding its weaknesses. The scheme of life has incidentally -- perhaps unconsciously -- arrived at. It means in substance, a partial abandonment of self-responsibility by the family on the basis of a rationalized inferiority.^{1.} Movement becomes an attempt to avoid the complexities of life by artificially simplifying the environment or by shifting the burden for their solution to another.

Others have built up a fairly definite scheme of life, still more unconventional in mode of making a living.^{2.} In the flight of Mrs. Williams with Enders we have the acceptance of such a schematized behavior. Enders was securing money posing as a deaf-mute, Rachel by staging epileptic fits. The anonymity of the road allows release from social sanctions and taboos. The attitudes of more stable folk toward the homeless is likely to increase their reaction against the mores. These two reciprocally-acting factors furnish, in the main, the social genesis of parasitism. For as Cooley has pointed out we are dependent for moral health on an intimately-contacting social group.^{3.}

Summing up these, it is the life-trend pre-existing

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1. See Schumacker, Henry C., "Effects of Financial Dependency and Relief Giving on Personality and Its Development". 1928 Proceedings Nat. Con. of Social Work.
 2. See Chapter I, "Techniques of Getting By" for specific methods employed.
 3. Cooley, Social Process.

in the family's life before the trouble situation, the flexibility of the family in adjustment, the nature of the crisis in psycho-social effects, and the degree of fixation of the family in the community which it leaves, which determines, largely, whether personal disorganization is likely to follow.

The second condition likely to cause personal disorganization is a succession of road crises which are unsolved. The X case is illustrative:

Mr. X. came into the social agency crying like a baby. He begged that a worker would come with him out to the country two or three miles where the car had broken down.

The case-worker found there, Mrs. X. with a six-months old baby and two other children, laying on a pile of rags in the truck. Mrs. X had not sat up since the birth of the baby. They were now trying to get back to the sister's home in Missouri.

Two years before, the family had started out by car, after selling their few belongings, hoping to aid Mrs. X's health. In their roaming, the car, then almost new fell into disrepair. Now it needed overhauling badly. The tires were half gone off the rims.

A succession of disasters tied with health, augmented by personal needs for subsistence and the car deterioration had left the man confused, incoherent in his statements, and otherwise displaying symptoms of personal disorganization.

An extreme type of personal disorganization may result in a paranoia or other form of psychosis, which reflect an abnormal mental adjustment. These are frequently compensatory reactions, marking an unwillingness to admit an inability to manage the life affairs of the family.

Where the family has failed to reorganize its habits and behavior into a scheme of life, conscious or unconscious, personal disorganization for one or both of the parents may result.

Our hundred records, if at all typical, seem to show this absence of life organization as a relatively infrequent result. In only two of the families was there strong evidence of personal disorganization, although there was proof of unadjustment in other instances. Many records report record household conditions and disheveled-appearing people but these are of no significance unless compared with standards of living previous to transiency. They may merely represent continuation of habits of living not at all unusual for the worker living on a bare-subsistence level. Or they may represent readjustment on a lower scale of personal values.

Quasi-disorganization and demoralization seem more likely to occur at one of two possible times: (1) soon after the crisis and the locality dislodgment when the family has not yet reorganized its plan of life with reference to the disturbing situation, and (2) after a succession of road crises.

Detachment from a locality of abode may, in itself, constitute a violent disturbance of habit, whether this or the crisis-situation is likely to bring unadjustment and demoralization, depends on such questions as: how permanent was the abode from which the family was separated? How strong were the bonds tying them to the place they was obliged to leave? On how many

levels of interest were they receiving satisfaction in the community? What was the nature of the crisis? What is the attitude of the family toward that crisis? How do they think the community regards it?

Mrs. Kenwood, whose life history was given in some detail, had such a paranoid psychosis. She was obsessed by an idea of persecution both by the school administrators in the normal she attended, by a sister who had become successful in the field she had been denied (teaching), and by the husband who had witnessed her failure and been unsympathetic to her desires.

Another individual claimed to have been forced on the road by the injustices of unrelatives. In the study, other obsessions borderline to a psychosis were encountered. All of them appear to indicate unwillingness to attempt to accept personal inferiority as the cause of defeat or some mental conflict existing previous to transiency and still continued.

Conclusion

Migratory families would seem, then, to have not suddenly and impulsively become foot-loose. A succession of events previous to transiency culminated in a crisis, resulting in departure from the locality of settled residence come in an attempt to meet the crisis situation.

Transiency with direction and purpose "temporary transiency" is in most cases the initial stage of transiency, although travel may come as a blind throwing off of some thwarting circumstance or escape from a tiring "sameness" in the immediate environment. (There is purpose- if not direction - even here.)

Continued unadjustment to the localities where they stop for a period leads to continued movement, accustoming them to the environment of the road.

Movement, then, becomes transiency in a new sense. The activity first intended as a means to adjustment becomes in itself the adjustment. Transiency is not, then, just a condition of physical mobility but a complex of habits and attitudes.¹ It is a state of mind rather than mileage records, of attitudes rather than speedometer readings. The family has no attachment to a locality, and intends none except such stops as are made to get relief or to build up a "stake" for continued travel.

Wandering may be evidency of inability to adjust to² external environment. Or there may be a struggle in the internal environment of desires, interests and attitudes; movement is then a dramatization of an inner conflict where there is discrepancy between the wishes and desires of the person and

1. It is this "transiency" which, when denied operation, brings the restlessness traditionally termed "the wanderlust".

2. Type A.

1.
the opportunities for their fulfillment. The thwarting or repression may have taken place in childhood, leading to an adolescent flight. Successful adaptation of the individual to migratory life might then have extended it into a life pattern. Or the inner maladjustments may be present, unsolved ones as with Mrs. Kenwood.

Or the migratory impulse may have grown out of
2.
"social heredity". In any case -- unless parents in the family become disorganized -- life becomes schematized on the basis of intermittent or constant locality-change.

The roving class are largely, then, "normal" folks, as normal as those who live in one location. They are, frequently, those who have not or are not succeeding in finding a socially-satisfying function in society. Maladjustments to a stable society are accentuated on the road, and readjustment made to a mobile life. Moreover, they are often those who lack knowledge of how to get stimulating experience in their home environment or who do not have a sufficient economic margin to allow them to get it in a wholly conventional way. They are folks in a rut. But their particular rut happens to be linked up with transiency rather than
3.
with a fixed location.

1. Type B.

2. Type C.

3. If the developmental theory proposed proves a valid one, tested by further cases, it may provide a scientific approach to the problem of social control, from a somewhat different angle than that of case-work agencies.

We have not attempted to take up implications for

3. (Cont'd).

control and treatment which have developed in the study within the limits of the thesis. The Transportation Agreement, Appendix C, gives the agreement between agencies developed by the Committee on Transportation of Allied National Agencies. This, together with the checked questionnaire in Appendix B, is illustrative of the best practical policy that has developed. (The practice employed by this agency of housing members of the sexes separately is, however, open to question.) Societies administering to transients may need to keep a distinction in treatment between the temporary and the intermittent or continual transients.

A scheme of prevention and treatment, considering the country as a whole must take into consideration factors leading to initial locality dislodgement, (The task is largely one establishing more satisfying functions, interests, and relationships within the contacting environment.) with the problem of deseasonalizing of industry (agricultural and manufacturing) leading to sudden slumps and swells in labor demand, the general problem of unemployment and inefficient labor placement in the United States, the need for an educational program for institutions, agencies and individuals now facilitating transiency by easy relief, the control and regulation of auto-camps, and finally, the application of case-work principles to this mobile class.

In practice these general factors may take specific form in setting up: registration of casual laborers, a co-ordinated system of employment exchanges, possibly the establishment of labor colonies as in Europe to rebuild work habits and retrain vocational misfits; the working out of state and regional clearance plans between societies administering relief; remodeling of laws (or rather the education of judges applying present laws) so that children can be protected from parents who are chronic rovers and mendicants; the extension of the Transportation Agreement to Salvation Army units, city and county departments of public welfare; the complete elimination of the free auto-camp (but allowing opportunity in pay, municipal camps to work out the fee asked), and strict supervision and regulation of all auto-camps by city and state (the state control, after the California plan) to "catch" the fly-by-night camps out of the city limits, selling the car of the temporary transient and sending him on by train to his destination, requiring the chronic migrant to work out his expenses if he is to continue traveling.

Numbers of Auto-Transient Families Receiving Aid in 1928 or 1928-29.

Name of City	Org'n.	Total No. Cases Hand- led. (4)	Number of A. T. F.	Contrast with Previous period	General Remarks.
Ariz. Tucson,	*FWS	792	75 7.6% (May '28 - Mar.15,'29)		(1 to 4 a day in 1923-24) Most, prevalent problems are health, particularly T.B. and asthma. Policy followed very similar to that of Salt Lake City (see App. B.)
Colo. Boulder	*FWS	128	5 3.9% (S. A. also)		Less in no. than previous year. Eco. problems considered greatest difficulty of transient.
(Following figures for Colo. towns taken from summaries of numbers cleared through South-western Colorado Confidential exchange. (Greeley not included) Numbers are of those asking aid. 117 in all were cleared thru the Central agency for these Colorado towns.)					
Canon City	FWS	8			
Colorado Springs	*FWS	33	33		29 car transients Oct. to Oct. '23-24. 4 T. B. cases were listed among physical defects. On main highways, east and west, north and south.
Denver	*FWS		46		Car-migrants were 4% case load in 1923. 6 T. B. cases included in number. City on main cross-country route.
Pueblo	*FWS		27		On main cross-country route

- Figures given are taken from replies to questionnaire (see Appendix B) or from summaries made personally while at the agency. Comparative figures (where available) or estimates compared with other years are either from the questionnaire of -- for the period 1923-1924 -- from the survey of A. Buffington, reported in article, "Auto Migrants", The Family, Vol. VI. p. 5. July, 1925.
- Abbreviations used: FWS -- Family Welfare Society; DPW -- Department of Public Welfare; ARC -- American Red Cross; SA -- Salvation Army; ATF -- Auto-Transient Families;
- Symbols used: x. -- Other agencies in city giving relief to transients. (Unless this symbol is given the society indicated either is carrying the whole of relief for migratory families or has failed to mention other sources of aid. * -- Member organization of Nat. Assn. for Org. of Family Social Work. o -- Not a member. # -- Number estimated.
- Numbers given do not include all migrants or those using means of transportation other than auto unless specified. May be considerable more who are migratory.
- This includes both new and recurrent cases. It would be interesting to know what is the percentage of migratory families in new cases.

Colorado (Cont'd)

Trinidad	FWS (?)		2		
Wakenburg			1		
Greeley	*FWS	821 total case load	8	1%	On main highway, but not one catching bulk of cross-country travel.
Iowa, Burlington	*FWS	268	4		City till this year has not been on main pavement, so that roads east, west, and north were frequently blocked. Agency expects more transients now that pavement is in.
Eldora	*FWS		0		Not on main cross-country highway.
Oskaloosa	*FWS	629 (Oct. to Oct.)	5	8.%	On main highway (?)
Kansas, Arkansas City	SA	63x	49	78%	Families more frequent. (See checks in appendix B, for policy used. While the unit asserts that they check references and follow-up to see if reach destination, apparently they never refuse aid, furnish gas and oil to continue on way, and encourage a family to leave town. They never attempt to stabilize a homeless family in their town, according to the question- naire.
Arkansas City	AMC	369 (Considerable no. additional hitch- hiking.)	6		Say problem is getting smaller S.A. asserts that all relief sources work together. ARC does not furnish gas and oil to help on way as freely as SA, nor encourage to leave town (judging by questionnaire reply).
Atchison	*FWS	139	1		Numbers less since abandoned free, municipal camp. Not on highway.
Hutchinson	*FWS	174 (May to May)	4x		About same number. On highway catching east- west travel. 20 including other types of transients.
Hutchinson	SA	977 (731 single transient cases and minor cases)	29		Eleven other families were catching rides as their method of travel. Numbers have re- mained about the same.
McPherson	AMC	232	10	4.3%	This number probably includes all families securing aid in county, since are organized on county-wide basis. Number car-migrants slightly less.

Kansas (Cont'd)

Topeka	*FWS	723	61 8.4% (see note)
Topeka	SA		22 (families in 9 mo. period)
Wichita	*FWS		34 (See note)
(Agency has a wood pile to test sincerity of those claiming desire for work. Requires to work out funds for further travel.)			
Michigan, Battle Creek	TA		30#x (See note)
Minnesota, Minneapolis	*FWS	2709	61 2.3%
Missouri, Clayton	*FWS	1224	12 ⁵
Kansas City,	*FWS		40#x
St. Louis	TA	1044 (495 families)	38

Number includes families other than those traveling by car. Have half less in 1928 than in 1927. (May have been change of policy to account for sudden drop). City on main east-west highway. Includes hitchhikers. Say are more hitchhikers than car-transients. Number probably duplicates above.

The number given is that recorded on the Confidential Exchange slips sent to other agencies between 1-7-28 and 3-2-29. There were families additional to this number, as "repeaters" and those registered on Saturday afternoon.

Not all of thirty were car-transients. Family Service Society and Red Cross also give aid. Main route, but city misses main cross-country currents of travel.

Numbers increasing yearly. Only 27 in previous year (1927)

Didn't specify whether all were traveling by car or by other methods of transportation. Not on main route.

(Twenty-three records of major importance were taken from files for analysis in study, but have not gotten their own summary. Number seems to be slightly less.) On main cross-country routes. SA also furnishes aid, and Jewish Ed. Inst. (for own race only). Requests are more frequent now. (Had ten requests for aid from unattached men or women traveling by auto). On main highways.

New Mexico, Santa Fe	*FWS	390	38# 9.3%	Statistics are from starting of agency Aug. 15, '28 - May 15, '29. About 1-3 of transients travel by car.
Texas, Amarilla	*FWS	827	160 19.3% (See note)	Number includes both hitchhikers and those owning cars they travel in. T.Bs. and cripples among these. Questioned whether others really wanted work. The agency, in some cases, refuses assistance. In some, it meets immediate problems till family leaves town without attempting to verify residence and references. Its regular procedure is to investigate legal residence and references, furnishing gas and oil to continue if thinks best. Is not an adherent of Transportation Agreement. Attempts to establish family if family has no legal residence or destination. Requests were less than in 1927. Number of car migrants given for period July 1, 1928 to January 1, 1929. Never sell car and furnish Transportation on by train. Migrants using other forms transportation swelled number to 130 for time given. On main highways.
Dallas,	DPW	3200 (May 1, '28-Jan.1, '29)	88 (6 mo. '29)	Use case-work methods in accordance with Transportation Agreement. Never This number is not compared since it includes all non-resident cases, many not cases of no- madism. Houston has a special problem in the families who move into the auto-camps when they reach the city and make them their place of permanent residence. On main highway in south. Number of transients remains about the same. See Appendix B for policy of treatment and gen- eral aspects of problem. On main cross-country highway.
Houston	*FWS	1725	369 (See note)	
Utah, Salt Lake City		1111 (Aug.27 -Aug.28)	85	

Washington, Tacoma

568

23x 7.6%

Seems to be some increase in problem. The city is the end of the trail for many of the transients. Have policy about the same as Salt Lake, including the selling of a car and transporting them on the train. SA and Volunteers of America also furnish relief.

Wisconsin,

TA
(Not distinct
agency)

5

5

Number is less than usual. Is a free municipal camp there. Not on a main highway.

APPENDIX B.

1.

Questionnaire on Auto-Transient Families

- A. How many cases (new and recurrent) were opened in your agency during last year? (Please indicate time of fiscal year if other than January 1.)

(63) 1111 cases. Fiscal year, August 1928 to August 1929.

- B. How many of these were transient cases?

(58) 165 transient cases.

- C. How many were family groups traveling by auto?
(If exact figures are not easily computed for B and C please give estimates, but indicate if figures are estimates.)

(49) 85 family groups traveling by auto.

- D. What is your general policy in handling the auto-transient families?

(Put an X opposite each of the methods that have been used in your agency during the year.)

Mark with an additional X those methods used most frequently.

Mark with an o those methods never used.

-
1. The above checked questionnaire is from a agency really attempting to do case-work with a difficult class. Note under D. the methods used most frequently and those never employed. The sub-point under D. 4 is the only part of treatment open to question.

The National Transportation Committee Agreement is an agreement among case-work agencies to prevent the "passing on" of transients from one city to another.

The signer agency pledges itself to careful investigation procedure and denies to itself the right to send on a transient person or family without consideration of the receiving city. He must just secure consent to the passage and the promise to assume responsibility for the family by some person or social agency in that city. If that permission is refused the agency can return the family to its legal residence, if it has any, or administer temporary relief, or reestablish the family in that city.

If the family is to be sent on or back the sending agency agrees to take care of all expenses back so that the family or individual will not have to ask for further aid. For contrast with this policy notice the checks made in parentheses, those made by a Salvation Army Unit in Kansas.

- (o) X 1. No assistance whatsoever.

In cases where gas, oil, or cash loan have been demanded and clients refused to consider other service. Also in cases where able-bodied men and women refused opportunities to take work.

- (XX) o 2. Furnishing of gas and oil or repairs to help continue on way.

- (XX) o 3. Furnishing of temporary relief but encouraging family to leave town.

- (o) o 4. Meeting of immediate problems till family leaves town without attempting to verify residence and references.

- (X) Check here (X) if you furnish shelter or other relief for individuals or the sexes, separately, rather than families together.

Women and children in Emergency Home. Men in man's hotel. Sometimes families in cabin at auto camp. Dependent upon the situation. If people arrive in a car they usually have some equipment. In some cases we have been able to arrange with the auto camp to hold the car for rent until the man accepts work and pays his debt or until he allows us to communicate with relatives.

- (XX) XX 5. Investigation of legal residence and other references.

- (o) X 6. Sending on in accordance with provisions of Transportation Agreement.

- (o) X 7. Selling of car, and transportation on by train or bus.

- (XX) In accordance with Transportation Agreement.

- X 8. Follow-up to see whether family reached destination intended by the agency.

- (o) XX 9. Attempt to establish family in your own city if has no legal residence and no definite destination.

E. How do the transient families you have served "get by" while on the road?

Mark an X opposite each of the methods which you have discovered.

Mark an additional X. opposite those "techniques" which you have found most frequently employed by your cases.

- (XX) XX 1. Seasonal labor.

- (X) XX 2. Occasional work supplemented by relief.

- (XX) XX 3. Relief from agencies or municipal officials.

- (XX) XX 4. Relief from "benevolent individuals."
(o) X 5. Money reserve of own.
(XX) X 6. Street "grafts" or beggin, where children are exploited.
(o) X 7. Street grafts or begging where children were not exploited.
(XX) X 8. Peddling.
9. Other (Please specify)
Newspaper publicity. Occasionally we have had these people publish a pathetic or dramatic story in a paper, attracting attention of people who provide them with means to carry out their ends.

F. How would you characterize their type of dependency, which sends them asking relief. (Number in order of estimated frequency):

- (4) 1. Temporary or accidental (as by car accident, illness, temporary unemployment.)
(2) 2. Parasitism.
(3) 3. Intermittent dependency which will probably continue.
(1) 4. Permanent dependency due to sickness, work incompetency of any type (as age or mental incapacity of wage-earner.)

G. From the references given by the transients about what percentage would you estimate to have secured agency aid before hitting road?

(45%) Ninety per cent.

H. Did the requests for help during last year seem to be more or less frequent than in previous years?

(Yes

more) About the same.

I. List the problems most frequently presented by your auto-tramp families under the types listed below:

(X) 1. Physical

Tuberculosis
Heart
Epilepsy
Rheumatism
Stomach Ulcers

(X) 2. Mental

Dull
Mentally unstable

3. Economic

Unemployment

Irregular Employment

Many of our auto transients work in fruit or beet fields and drift on when the season closes. Many of them pick up odd jobs which become more scarce as winter advances. Many seem to drift from one community to another with the seasons, going to California and other southern climes for the winter months, and traveling into the more rigorous regions during the summer.

4. Educational

Irregular school attendance of children.

Lack of education of adults.

(XX) 5. Habits and behavior

Begging

Juvenile Delinquency

Desertion

Immorality

(XX) 6. Unsatisfactory social adjustments

Dissatisfaction with living conditions. Traveling to improve condition.

Habitual Wanderers

Mania for visiting relatives

Desire to avoid work.

Name Agency Family Service Society

Location 611 Beason Bldg. (city) Salt Lake City
(state) Utah.

Name of staff member answering questionnaire

E.----- M.-----, Position Executive Secretary.

Check here () if your city has a free municipal camp,, and here () if the city maintains a municipal camp, charging a small fee.

We formerly had a municipal camp. All auto camps are ~~now~~ privately operated and charge fees.

(X) Check here (X) if your city is on a main cross country highway, and here () if not on a cross country highway, but on a main county or state route.

APPENDIX C.

The signers of this Agreement enter into mutual obligations to obey the following rules and interpretations:

1.

Transportation Rules

Before any transportation shall be provided, the agency considering it shall be satisfied by adequate and reliable evidence that:

(1) The prospects of the applicant in opportunities for normal living are not decreased by sending him to the proposed destination.

(2) The applicant

(a) Will have such resources for maintenance at the point of destination as will save him from becoming dependent on relief from an agency, public or private, or

(b) Is a proper charge upon the agencies there, or

(c) Has legal residence there.

and shall make

(3) Reasonable effort to obtain from an appropriate agency at the proposed destination a report as to the facts included in Rules 1 and 2.

(4) Provision for the applicant through to the ultimate destination which has been determined by the sender.

1. The Agreement applies to every act whereby an applicant is helped by money, goods, advice, or encouragement to go from one community to another. If an agency is plainly informed of transportation proposed by another agency which seems to be in violation of the Agreement, the first agency becomes itself a party thereto unless it tries to discourage transportation.

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